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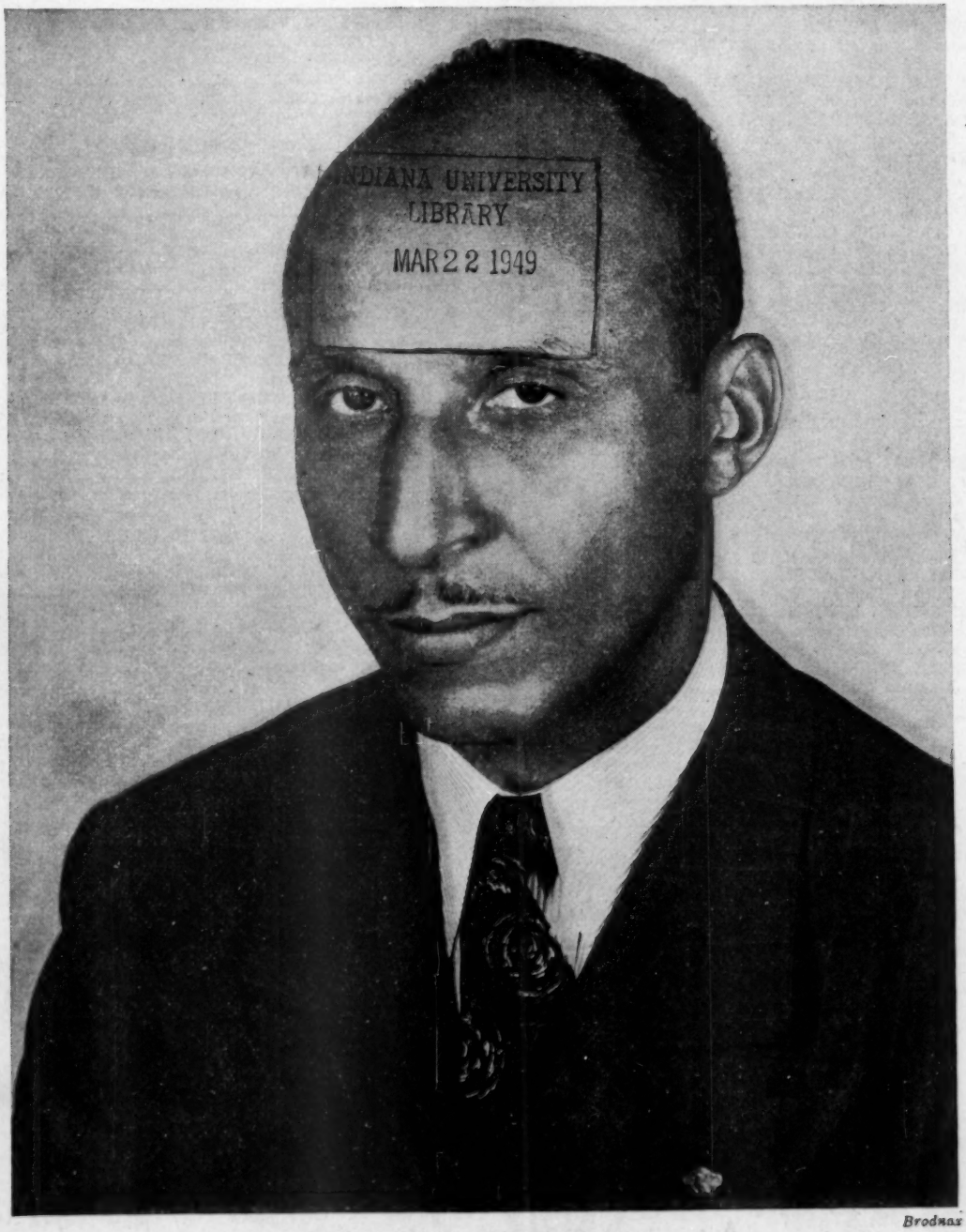

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Vol. 56, No. 3 Whole Number 459

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EDITORIAL ROUNDUP

COVER—Oliver W. Hill began his first term as a member of the Richmond, Va., city council on September 7, 1948, and is the first Negro to serve on the council since 1888; the only other living Negro to have served being Edward R. Carter, now 90, who was elected in 1888, but resigned in 1890. Forty-one-year-old Attorney Hill is a veteran of World War I and has for many years been active in educational and civil-rights fights in behalf of his people in his native Virginia. He also played a prominent role in the various teacher-salary-equalization fights instituted by Virginia's Negro teachers. In the voting on June 8, 1948, Attorney Hill received 9,097 votes to edge out T. D. DuCennois, white. At least 2,000 of his total votes are credited to white voters.

Although Attorney Hill is the first Negro to serve in Richmond's new unicameral nine-man council, replacing the old mayor-bicameral system, and the first Negro since 1888 to sit in a Richmond council, he is one of the twenty-seven Negroes to serve in Richmond councils. One of the earliest members was Alfred Thornton, and, one, Joshua R. Griffin, served for ten or more successive years.

•

CLARENCE MITCHELL, labor secretary of the NAACP, works out of Washington, D. C., where he can be at the center of labor's fight for progressive labor legislation.

•

RUTH DANENHOWER WILSON, herself a Vassar graduate, is author of *Jim Crow Joins Up* (1944), a study of segregation in the armed forces, and a frequent contributor to our pages. She lives in New York City.

After Mrs. Wilson's article went to press, President Sarah Gibson Blanding of Vassar stated that her college would welcome more applications from well-qualified Negroes. In her 1947-48 report, released in Poughkeepsie on February 21, she declared: "We rejoice that at Vassar our admissions system makes no distinction as to race, creed or color."

•

GLOSTER B. CURRENT, director of branches of the NAACP, is already well known to *Crisis* readers and wrote the article "Exit Jim-Crow Schools in New Jersey" for our January issue.

•

DR. GERHART SAENGER'S report on the experiences of New York City and Connecticut department stores with Negro sales personnel was made to the fifty-sixth annual meeting of the American Psychological Association in Boston on September 8, 1948.

•

J. AUSTIN BURKHART, professor of American civilization at Stephens college, Columbia, Mo., has authored many articles on politics and minority rights for both popular and academic journals. At the present time he is working on a book on the Negro in Southern politics.

•

DR. MABEL SMYTHE, who holds a Ph.D. in economics from the University of Wisconsin, was until recently an instructor in economics at Brooklyn college.

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COLLEGE and SCHOOL NEWS

African students of STORER COLLEGE have organized a union which they hope to have affiliated with the African Students Association of the United States and Canada. Chief purpose of the newly-fledged union is practical participation in movements for advancement of education in Africa.

Officers of the union are Busari Abioye, president, a premedical student from Nigeria; Albert Emeric Tuboku Metzger, vice-president, a pre-medical student from Sierra Leone; Julius Gikonyo Kiano, secretary, social science major from Kenya; and Veronica Arinze, treasurer, a home-economics major from Nigeria.

Annual New Year's address to Storer students and faculty was delivered in January by H. D. Hazelwood, business manager of the college. He urged the students to make New Year's resolutions pertaining to improvement in classwork and the strengthening of character.

A duo-recital by Warner Lawson and Bernard Mason, both of the Howard university school of music, was given at the college on January 15, with Mr. Mason playing the violin and Mr. Lawson the piano.

Special vesper services of ALABAMA STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE on January 9 were addressed by Dr. J. W. E. Bowen, bishop of the Atlantic coast area of the Methodist church. Bishop Bowen spoke to students and faculty from the subject "False Gods vs. the Real Gods."

Dr. Alonzo Myers, chairman of the department of higher education, New York university, was a guest of the college in January. During his stay he lectured to student and faculty groups on the problems of education in the contemporary world.

Hubert A. Hinds, a senior at Alabama State, has been awarded the Omega scholarship of $100, offered annually to promising students on the basis of their academic records. The award was made to Mr. Hinds, by Dr. W. Montague Cobb, chairman of the Omega scholarship commission, at the 1948 grand conclave of the Omega Psi Phi fraternity, meeting in Columbus, Ohio.

Sixty-seventh founders' day exercises were held at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE on January 21, with the main address being delivered by Dr. Channing H. Tobias, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. Walton P. Jefferson, of Cape Charles, Va., a graduate in the class of 1910, spoke as representative of the alumni; Calvin A. Davenport, of Gloucester, Va., spoke as student representative. Music for the occasion was supplied by the college A Capella Choir under the direction of J. Harold Montague.

Jesse O. Thomas, of the American Red Cross, was principal speaker at the college assembly program on January 14; he talked on the activities of the American Red Cross.

Thirteen instructors from TENNESSEE A. & I. COLLEGE are working in various graduate schools for their advanced degrees. Ten are working toward their doctorates: Hazo Carter and Sadie Gasaway, University of Illinois; Neal McAlpin, University of Wisconsin; Mrs. Roberta P. Seats and Velma Watters, Columbia university; Kenneth A. Johnson, University of Minnesota; Mazie O. Tyson, Syracuse university; Crawford B. Lindsay and Mrs. Alma T. Watkins, Cornell university; Lua S. Bartley, University of Michigan.

Working for various masters' degrees are Helen Glover and Eddie M. Jenkins, New York university; and John G. Sanders, Wayne university.

Nine A. & I. seniors and juniors have been recognized for inclusion in *Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges,* 1948-49: Jeannine Allison, Helen Dumas, Pearl Gore, Ella Edith Holmes, Elizabeth Ross, Evelyn Watts, Robert Jackson, Gilbert Mason, and William Scott, all seniors. Juniors are Madelyn Brewer, Herbert Ryan, William Lawson, and Joseph Williams.

Dr. George W. Gore, Jr., dean, was elected new vice-president of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools at its fifteenth annual session held in Wilmington, N. C. In order to meet the growing demand for continuous adult education the college announces a state-wide extension program offering courses in three groups: college-credit courses, non-credit courses, and graduate courses.

Dean David H. Bradford of KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE reports a record number of students on the dean's list. Those topping the list with 2.8 or above are Ewaugh Finney, William Smith, Ellen Wilson, Josephine Davis, Leonard Thomas, George Seals, Mar-

garet Tucker, Herbert Olivera, Robert Harding, and Yvonne Hayes.

New president of ST. AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE is Dr. Harold L. Trigg, who was inaugurated as sixth president of the college on January 14. Dr. Trigg is the first Negro and the first layman to head this historic institution. Prior to coming to St. Augustine, Dr. Trigg served as supervisor of high schools in North Carolina, president of State Teachers college (Elizabeth City, N. C.), and assistant director of the Southern Regional Council.

The COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIAL ARTS at Wilberforce, Ohio, according to President Wesley, is going to add another boiler to its power plant, thus enabling the college to take care of power-plant services to new buildings.

An Air Force officer-pilot interviewing team, consisting of Major Clayton Doherty and Captain George Ziegler, seeking applicants for flight training at Air Force bases, visited the college January 26-27.

Mid-year convocation of the fifty-seventh session of WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was held January 30, with Dr. James M. Nabrit, secretary of Howard, as principal speaker. Degrees were conferred upon forty-nine graduating seniors.

Founders' day program of the Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority was held at the college on January 23, with Soror Lorraine Greene, an attorney of Chicago, Ill., as principal speaker. A local chapter of the International Relations Club has been organized by the language circles of the department of romance languages under the sponsorship of Carrie E. Brady, of the romance faculty.

President John W. Davis announces that President Carl Murphy of the Afro-American Newspapers, Baltimore, Md., is offering a prize of $50 for the best college song, words and music (dedicated to the college) written by a student or alumnus during the year 1949.

Aiding the Negro to aid himself is the worthy endeavor of CATHOLIC SCHOLARSHIPS FOR NEGROES, INC., Springfield, Mass. With the opening of the collegiate year last fall, this corporation could point with pride to the fact that twenty-six young Negro men and women are now studying in Catholic colleges and universities on its scholarships.

Recently released enrollment figures for the first semester at SHAW UNIVER-

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Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, head of the department of sociology at Howard, was guest speaker at the college social science forum on January 11. Dr. Frazier spoke on research in the field of human relations, listing the three main concerns of such investigations in the form of questions: Can social science be approached scientifically? What frame of reference should be used? How can we achieve objectivity?

Clarence A. Bacote, professor of history at ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, was co-recipient of the "citizenship-of-the-year" awards made annually by the 27 Club of Atlanta. Professor Bacote was selected for his foresight in urging all properly qualified Negroes to register for voting privileges, and for his voluntary expenditure of time and money in setting up citizenship classes among every income strata in all sections of the city, and for the marked success which attended these efforts.

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President Benjamin Mays of MOREHOUSE COLLEGE spent a week in January attending conferences of the Association of American Colleges, Association of Northern Baptist Institutions, and the United Negro College Fund, all in New York City; and a conference in Washington, D.C., with John Dale Russell of the United States Office of Education. Theme of these three conferences, Dr. Mays stated, was the future of private colleges in the United States.

Governor Forrest Smith of Missouri appointed President Sherman D. Scruggs of LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) as a state representative at the eighth annual observance of National Freedom Day in Philadelphia January 30-February 1.

Library additions and equipment for laboratories have been recently acquired by the university school of journalism. Seventeen miscellaneous volumes, several pamphlets, and copies of two newspapers of the past century were added to the Martha Bingham Clyce Memorial Collection by Chester A. Smith, of Boston, founder of the memorial. A new donor, Carl R. Murphy, president of the Afro-American Newspapers, Baltimore, Md., has sent the school a typescript of the minutes

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of the 1886 convention of the American Press Association and two rare books in the Negro field, published by W. B. Ziff Company in the early thirties.

Dr. S. Oliver Roberts, assistant professor of psychology and education at FISK UNIVERSITY, has been elevated to the status of a fellow in the Society for Research in Child Development. At the present time there is only one other fellow in Tennessee, Dr. Ella Day at the University of Tennessee. Dr. Roberts received his Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota in 1944, and he has also been the recipient of two Carnegie Foundation grants, one in 1947 and the other in 1948.

A contract was signed in February between Fisk University and the Nashville Service and Maintenance Union, Local 338, Building Service Employees Internation Union, AFL, according to an announcement coming from President Charles S. Johnson. This contract with Fisk is the first to be signed by this local in Nashville.

Elkhart, Indiana, Kiwanis officers presented a junior achievement award in January to Leonard Johnson, a 17-year-old pre-medical student at Howard university. Johnson is the youngest graduate of the Elkhart high school, finishing at the age of fifteen. The junior award presented him is provided by the Horace A. Moses Foundation in "recognition of meritorious accomplishment in junior achievement," and carries a $100 cash award in addition to the certificate.

First history of the Negro in Delaware appears as a chapter in the recently published, *Delaware: A History of the First State,* edited by H. Clay Reed of the University of Delaware. Author of the chapter is Pauline A. Young, librarian of the Stevens Memorial Library, Howard high school, Wilmington, Delaware.

As a step in its campaign against the establishment of segregated regional schools, a special committee of the CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF NEGRO LAND-GRANT COLLEGES has just circulated a large number of reprints of the "Editorial Comment" from the winter 1949 number of the *Journal of Negro Education,* entitled "Why Negroes Are Opposed to Segregated Regional Schools." These Negro educators are opposed solely to the segregated aspect of the program. They have no objection to regional services based upon a principle which looks forward to a greater educational future for the South, provided it is upon a non-segregated basis.

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Editorial

THE NAACP AND THE COMMUNISTS

THERE is in progress a campaign of misrepresentation of the NAACP currently running in the *Daily Worker*, the Communist newspaper. All the old phrases are there. The name-calling has started all over again. The slanted and angled "news" stories appear. The half-truths and whole lies see print. The object is to discredit NAACP leadership, local and national; to tear the Association apart through suspicion and strife; to take it over, if not obviously, then deviously, so as to control its elections, meetings, speakers, program, policy, conventions, resolutions, and other public statements.

Back in the early Thirties the NAACP was on the receiving end of some of the fanciest name-calling, and the most vicious, truth-defying misrepresentation and slander that has appeared in print. The campaign was carried on openly by the Communist party and its various faithful, echoing groups. The occasion was the famous Scottsboro case which began in 1931.

After the Communists had accomplished their main purpose of building that case into a world-wide attack on Western democracy, they found that all the defendants were still in prison with little likelihood of being released as long as the Communit party stood as the official defenders. So a Scottsboro Defense Committee was organized, consisting of seven or eight organizations, including the Communists. An eminent clergyman, the Rev. Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers became the committee chairman and thereafter, almost single-handedly, effected the release of most of the defendants. With the passing years the Communists gradually dropped out of the picture.

BY now the Roosevelt era of cooperation between Russia and America was in full flower. It is true the Soviets made a pact with Hitler and during that brief honeymoon Roosevelt won the favorite Communist title of war-monger, but with the German army's attack on the Soviet Union, the "line" changed literally overnight and Roosevelt's America became the blessed friend and ally in the war on fascism.

As the political line changed, so did the line on Negro Americans. The Communists abandoned abruptly their widely-advertised fight for Negro rights. Nothing must interfere with the war effort, lest such domestic wrangles hurt the aid to the Soviet Union. The NAACP, believe it or not, was criticized as being "too militant" in its wartime fights. The Communists joined the Southerners in saying in effect "this is not the time to fight the race question, we must fight the war." So American Negroes fought their bitter battles against jim crow in the war (and rather well, too) without the dubious aid of the American Communists.

The watchword through those years was cooperation. The NAACP, which had been lashed as "betraying the masses," as "cooperating with the lynch-bosses," etc., *ad nauseam*, became tolerable, if not respectable, in the eyes of American Stalinists.

BUT now everything is changed again. America is in a cold war with Russia. The American Communists are busy stirring disaffection, dissension, and unrest in every segment of American life they can penetrate, such as labor unions, church bodies, youth groups, college campuses, community organizations, and Negro groups, including the NAACP.

The purpose in all this is *not* to build a better NAACP to fight more effectively for civil rights for Negroes under the American Constitution, using legitimate American methods, but to operate one more front group to confuse and embarrass Americans and the American government in the present contest of ideologies.

There is no mystery, except to the unthinking and uninitiated, about the Communists' program on the Negro. Their characterization of the NAACP as "reformist" reveals the line: they do not believe American democracy can be improved or reformed, hence anyone who does, who keeps alive a faith in the American way of life, is a criminal and a "betrayer of the people." As long as the NAACP and similar groups exist and push programs of reform, the Communist doctrine takes root slowly, if at all, in the nation's largest minority group. Hence the NAACP must either be captured or destroyed.

We are not alarmed. In 1931 we were bewildered by the utterly unscrupulous and vitriolic attacks which had no relation to truth. We know now that everyone who says he is fighting for Negro rights is not necessarily doing so and if Scottsboro left any doubts, they were dispelled by the sell-out during the war. The truth is that the American Communists fight only for the Soviet Russia "line" and for nothing else. Any other contests in which they *seem* to be engaged are merely side efforts which have been (and will be) played up, played down, or abandoned altogether, according to the party line of the hour.

OUR NAACP membership, therefore, should be on guard against this campaign. It should remember that the Communists do not hesitate to lie when lies will serve their purpose, that they are masters of misrepresentation through misinterpretation, that they prattle about democracy in other organizations while maintaining an iron-handed non-democratic procedure in their own party, and that their aim is to use the Negro and his problems mainly in support of Communist party policy and only incidentally in support of Negro rights.

This does not mean the Communists should be fought, as such. They constitute a political party and have rights under the Constitution as do other parties. Those rights must be maintained. Free speech and free assembly must be maintained for all. Let them enjoy their rights in this democracy and push their program as well as they can in their own groups. But their campaign of infiltration, disruption, and destruction of other organizations such as the NAACP can be prevented if members will not be deceived by their words, and will elect the proper officers and committees, choose the right delegates to conventions, attend meetings faithfully and out-vote the party followers, and see that the resolutions and public statements adopted by NAACP groups are NAACP statements in truth, and not those of a group using our name for its own political purposes.

Education UAW Style

By Clarence Mitchell

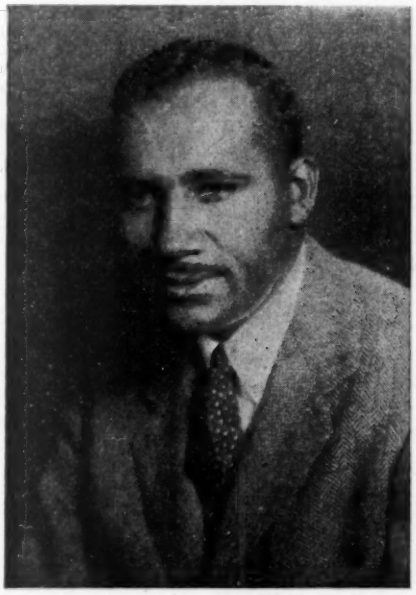
The writer cites the UAW's program of self-education as proof of the union's sincerity in its fight for fair employment practices

"I AM opposed to segregation and all forms of discrimination because they are contrary to all the principles that have made America great. I am opposed to them regardless of geography because I don't think geography changes basic principles." The foregoing words were part of the climax of Walter Reuther's testimony before the Senate committee on labor and public welfare in the 80th Congress. As President of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, Mr. Reuther was testifying in favor of the proposed Federal Fair Employment Practice Act. He was answering a question put to him by Louisiana's cocky little Allen Ellender, an ardent foe of civil rights in general and fair employment in particular.

Many people have given an answer like that before, but only a few of them have an opportunity to put such beliefs into practice on the same scale as does Mr. Reuther. With its more than a million members in one of the country's most important industries, the actions of the United Automobile Workers are bound to have considerable effect on American life.

At the UAW educational conference in Milwaukee during the month of January, I had an opportunity to get a firsthand view of how deeply the concept of democracy has penetrated into the mind of the average member of that union. With the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act a major objective in the 81st Congress, it is important to take a look at this conference. That law was specifically designed to cripple such unions as the UAW.

Of course, it would be foolish to say that every person who pays his dues believes that every other member, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, is entitled to a square deal. The mere fact that a man or woman joins a union does not mean that over night this individual becomes a subject for canonization. However, if the members are at all open-minded, the UAW will see that they are well informed on almost everything that touches the wage earner's daily life. This process of keeping members informed includes economics, politics, race relations, health, and recreation. I mention them in that order because that is the way they seem to line up on the UAW's roster. About two cents of each member's monthly dues go to the international union for educational purposes.



Washington Press

CLARENCE MITCHELL
Labor secretary of the NAACP.

As an example of the UAW's approach to race relations, one might take a brief glance at two colored delegates who had just gotten to Milwaukee from Alabama. They were standing at the registration desk in the Schroeder hotel. At the time, the thermometer was sliding in the direction of ten degrees below zero. These men did not have a room, but they were not the least bit upset. Long before, they had learned that their union had faced the issue of equal treatment of its members at conferences and conventions. They knew that this equal treatment includes hotel and restaurant accommodations.

Practical Experience

When the UAW's President was telling Congress that there should be a fair employment agency in the Federal Government, he was able to speak from very practical experience. He is the director of a smooth working department of men and women who administer the union's program in this field.

The co-director of this department is William H. Oliver, who has had extensive experience within the UAW from its beginning. With Bill Oliver are Harry Ross, Mrs. Carolyn Davis, and Mrs. Lillian Hatcher. Not only do they keep a sharp eye on fair play for racial and religious groups, but they also look out for the interest of women workers. Proof that this fair practices idea is succeeding within the union comes from the delegates to the conference. The most eloquent speeches on fair play for racial minorities were made by white people and some of the most vigorous statements on behalf of women workers of all races came from colored men.

The union's fair practices program has helped to work out many problems in local plants. Success stories, and even unsuccessful efforts, were related with pride and frankness. They included a wide variety of things from upgrading on the job to the use of facilities in halls rented for union meetings.

It was interesting to talk with some of the delegates on the fair practice program as they saw it in their own plants and cities. One of these was Earl Zehring of Mishawaka, Indiana. It was

(Continued on page 93)

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Negroes in Mixed Colleges

By Ruth Danenhower Wilson

DOES the news sensation made of the election of Negroes as captain of the Yale football team and co-manager of the Harvard track team and to fraternity membership mean that as a rule Negroes meet little acceptance in mixed colleges? How great a strain is it for Negro students to be a mere handful of their race in a predominantly white college? Is the stress involved worth while for undergraduates in colleges where all students live together in dormitories and are supposed to have a community social life?

Dr. Alphonse Heningburg, secretary of the Department of Welfare of New York City and a visiting professor of sociology at New York university, feels that great strain is involved. He went to a small midwestern college and did graduate work for his doctorate at several universities, including the Sorbonne. Dr. Heningburg recently influenced his elder son to enter Hampton so as to risk the hazards of a mixed college only when he was ready for graduate work. "The loneliness is too great," this professor says. "I still recall with a shudder my undergraduate days when there were only two other Negro students in college with only three Negro families in the nearby town. The faculty treated me well. I lived and worked in the family of the dean, who became president during my second year there. The students were polite in the classrooms but left me strictly alone outside them. In high school here on Long Island my boy got along well with both races but he had the security of his own home and family back of him. When you're away from home it's a different story. The psychic strain is often too great."

Let's look at some testimony of Negro college graduates as to their acceptance in clubs, sororities, and fraternities; week-end invitations to students' homes, and "boy-meets-girl" problems at dances. The following experiences over the last thirty-six years point to greatly increased social acceptance today but they also indicate

To what extent are Negroes accepted by the clubs, sororities, and fraternities of the mixed colleges? Herewith are glimpses of thirty-six years of progress

considerable variability in recognition even in the same college, apparently depending on the attitude of the dominant undergraduate group in any given year.

Granger Brothers

The Granger family at Dartmouth seems first in importance, since from 1911 to 1923 there was always one Granger brother there, where five of them were graduated. The elder brother, Lester Granger, now head of the National Urban League with headquarters in New York City, found his classmates friendly but not intimate. Social life centered around the fraternities which none of the five brothers was invited to join. As a means of self aid, Mr. Granger established a pressing business near the campus, which was kept up by the other four brothers in turn. For the first two college years Mr. Granger had one white friend, a rather lonely classmate who liked to drop into the pressing office to hobnob. But when in his junior year this boy joined a fraternity, he disappeared without a trace from young Lester's life. The Cosmopolitan Club which claimed to have an international viewpoint blackballed Lester Granger. In spite of being one of the best mandolin players in college he was not encouraged to join the Banjo and Mandolin Club, lest there should be embarrassment when they gave concerts at girls' colleges with dancing afterwards. He received no invitations to his classmates' homes and invited no one to his.

Mr. Granger's brother, Rudolph, now a doctor in Brooklyn, was considered the best runner in college, a star half-miler. Although it was the custom for the best runner on the team to be made captain, when Rudolph was a senior, a junior was elected to that office. Thornton Wood, a star skier, who was graduated a year later, had a similar experience of social segregation. Lester Granger said, as did the three younger of the five Granger brothers. However, Mr. Granger explained, there were from time to time exceptions to this sort of treatment. Matthew Bullit, now chairman of the State Parole Commission in Massachusetts, who was a star athlete at Dartmouth, of the Class of 1906, a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and a tenor soloist in the Glee Club, was voted the most popular man in his class. Mr. Granger's nephew who is now an undergraduate at Dartmouth is far more fully accepted socially than were his uncles.

Attitude at West Point

Colonel Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., noted fighter pilot, now Commander of the 477th Bombardment Group, who entered West Point at a time when for thirty years there had been no Negroes there, was "put into Coventry" towards the beginning of his plebe year, but was not too emotionally affected to continue without benefit of the slightest social recognition, even to a "good morning" from all the other cadets, until the end of the year when he was informed that he had made good and was taken out of Coventry. He was graduated in 1936, number twelve in his class. In fairness to this unwritten system of Coventry at both West Point and Annapolis, it must be said that it is used at times for white boys, so that one cannot be sure that color alone was the reason in young Davis' case. Several commissioned and non-commissioned officers, who were at West Point at the time felt that this severe measure had nothing to do with Davis' race, but that, as a matter of fact, he had "thrown himself around too much" at the beginning of his plebe year. Perhaps they meant he was a little cocky from being an honor student for two years at the University of Chicago, and

Chicago Sun

ROOSEVELT COLLEGE, *Chicago, Ill., is one mixed-college where color has never been a problem. Students gather in the park across Michigan Boulevard for an informal discussion.*

from knowing army life as the son of an officer. Perhaps they meant he "threw himself around too much *for a Negro.*"

Dr. Lawrence Reddick, until recently Curator of the Schomburg Collection of Negro Culture at the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library and now librarian at Atlanta university, received his doctorate at the University of Chicago in 1939. He met complete social acceptance there in dormitory life, dances, and all campus activities, receiving more invitations from white students of both sexes than he had time to accept.

Mrs. Eunice Hunton Carter, a former assistant district attorney for New York City, and now a counsellor to the Human Relations Division of the UNO, was graduated in 1921 from Smith college where she earned both her B.A. and M.A. in four years. She reports that she felt no social discrimination whatever. She was often invited to the homes of fellow-students, mostly in New England, for week-end or holiday visits, and she felt sure the only reason they did not visit her in Harlem was that her mother was absent working abroad for the YWCA, so that during her college days Eunice had no home to which she could invite her friends. Her son, Lisle, who was graduated from Dartmouth in 1945, where he was one of never more than six Negro students, reports that he had as happy an experience there socially as his mother did at Smith.

Roy Wilkins, editor of *The Crisis*, got his B.A. in journalism at the University of Minnesota in 1923. He recalls that he felt no more embarrassment from being a member of a minority group there than he had in growing up in St. Paul.

Oliver Harrington, cartoonist and one-time war correspondent with our Army in Italy, reports that at Yale, where he was graduated in 1936, he got a job in a fraternity house but was not asked to join it or any other club. The students treated him well in the classroom, but with three exceptions, all left him severely alone otherwise. The exceptions who became his firm friends he characterized as among the finest boys in his class both intellectually and morally. One of them, a boy from the Pacific Coast whose uncle was an ambassador of parts, used to ride with him week-ends in the train to New York, and frequently this boy's mother would invite young Harrington to drop in for cocktails with her son at her midtown hotel before he went to his home in White Plains. Later as a student in the Yale School of Fine Arts he was completely accepted socially.

Jane White, the heroine of the Broadway production *Strange Fruit*, daughter of Mr. Walter White, well-known author and executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was graduated from Smith college in 1944, where she was head of the House of Representatives, one of the three highest student positions. She met no social discrimination at work or play from either faculty or students. She brought her classmates to her home in Harlem and visited their homes in turn, although she characterizes herself as "not a great week-ender." The one incident she recalls as making her slightly race-conscious was when she and a white classmate went for a week-end as guests of another white classmate in Boston. When the three girls arrived on a Friday the hostess' mother remarked that her daughter must call up some of her Harvard friends so the girls would have dates for Saturday night. The daughter in agreeing said that they must watch their step as to the attitudes of the boys concerned.

Mixed Colleges Today

Coming down to this year of grace, let's look at the mixed colleges today. As space permits an intensive study of only one college, it seems logical to choose a girls' college, since the social

question is often regarded by white parents as more poignant for daughters than for sons.

Among the women's colleges Vassar was chosen as the best laboratory for intensive study because, although it is the oldest of the women's colleges, Negro students have been admitted there much more recently than at Wellesley, Smith, Radcliffe or Mt. Holyoke. Also there is a feeling that Vassar is an exclusive college and that Negroes can be accepted anywhere if they are accepted there; this in spite of the fact that Vassar is run on extremely democratic lines with no quotas for students, except geographical ones, and with twenty-six percent in 1948-1949 on scholarships or grants-in-aid. In the last three years Vassar has had students from almost every state in the Union and many foreign countries. There are no exclusive clubs of any kind and no one can obtain more luxurious quarters by paying more, although the comfort of the rooms varies a great deal from Main, constructed in 1861, to the modern dormitories. There are no private baths for anyone. Since the beginning of the War, the students have taken turns acting as waitresses in all the dining halls, so at times the white students wait on their colored classmates.

Until the twenties it was considered that Vassar had no colored students, although one Negro girl had actually been graduated in 1897. Everyone took her to be white until darker-hued parents came to commencement. In the twenties an application was received from a girl whose mother's maiden name was recalled by a member of the committee on admissions as being that of this graduate. Her daughter was admitted, and satisfactorily completed her course. The fact that she had some Negro ancestry was known only to the few who recalled her mother. An alumna who knew of her presence in college taxed Dean Thompson for not mentioning her in talks before alumnae groups when the number of students from Czechoslovakia, France, Italy and other foreign countries was announced. The Dean's reply was that the girl was listed as an American. Actually it was not known whether or not she was a Negro, according to legal definition.

The first unimpeachably Negro students were graduated from Vassar in the thirties. The first one to enter college was taken up by an active left-wing group of students who wished to introduce her on platforms as a martyr of prejudice. She went to a faculty member for advice, saying she came to college like any other student and did not wish to be singled out as Exhibit A. The Negro students who followed her were accepted naturally. One student found the adjustment to a mixed group so difficult that she asked for a semester's leave. After psychiatric advice, however, she returned and successfully completed her course.

Negroes at Vassar

In the academic years 1947-1949 there were three Negro students at Vassar, of whom two were graduated in 1948 while one is now a senior. Their social integration was excellent according to the testimony of President Blanding; Dean Thompson; Mrs. Drouillet, who is the Warden; Mr. McCormack, the Chaplain; a Negro Professor of English, Dr. Sterling Brown and his wife; and many white undergraduates. These three girls came to the dances and frequently danced with white boys. Usually their escorts were Negro boys who often danced with white girls. There is no way of estimating whether Negro students are invited to the homes of their white friends or entertain them at their own homes as frequently as is the case between white classmates. Such things naturally vary with the popularity of each girl, whatever her race. However, everyone agrees that in the college organizations such as athletic teams, dramatic and glee clubs, literary and debating societies, the Negro girls are frequently very prominent. Since there are no sororities at Vassar there is no outside interference by national governing boards. Barbara Page, daughter of Judge Myles Page of New York City, now a senior at Vassar, said that to be one of three Negroes when she entered college was much easier than when she was the first Negro at the Horace-Mann School. When asked if fear of social segregation keeps more Negro girls from applying to Vassar or whether the reasons are financial, since there is less opportunity for self-help than exists in colleges in large cities, she said she had a number of friends who were financially able to go to Vassar but who thought it would be more fun to go to co-educational Negro universities like Howard or Fisk, which are ranked as Grade A.

Other reasons for the very small numbers of Negro students in mixed colleges is that in many parts of the South there are few high schools that prepare Negroes adequately to pass College Board Examinations, and also at times Negro candidates even when well prepared encounter difficulties in being admitted to the local white schools where the examinations are given. (This discrimination is contrary to the rules of the College Board Examination Centre at Princeton, N. J., but it has occurred.)

The most recent Negro graduates of Vassar are Olive Thurman from Washington, whose father until recently has been dean of Howard university, and Stradella Lawrence, from Poughkeepsie, who is a cousin of Judge Jane Bolin of New York City. Olive chose Vassar because she wanted to study in the Drama Workshop and there was nothing similar in Negro colleges. She was head of the Vassar Intercultural Association, a group under the Vassar Community Church. Stradella Lawrence, who has a fine contralto voice, frequently sang solos in the college concerts and choir. Since to make music her career would require long, expensive training she majored in economics. She said she had met no social problems, qualifying this by adding that "If girls didn't want to know me, I could tell right away and I don't want to know that narrow kind." Her best friend visited her for week-ends in Poughkeepsie and together they would go to New York for theatre sprees, but the white friend frankly said she could not invite her to her own home "because her parents were so old-fashioned." Stradella said that of course there were various degrees of acceptance among her white classmates; some went the whole way, some were nice when alone with her, but might not see her if she happened to pass them on the campus when their parents or other visitors were with them. When pinned down as to how often this cutting happened, she said she had experienced it only once, adding, "After all, perhaps she really didn't see me. Who knows?"

Both girls agreed that in college or anywhere else one meets some individuals so busy trying to climb up the social ladder that they never have a hand free to help anyone else. Apparently the only untoward racial incident at Vassar recently was at an informal dance given by Stradella Lawrence's class, where an octette included among other folksongs one called "Snowball," a caricature of the stereotyped Negro with such slang as "coon" and "darky" although not the most offensive term. Stradella left the dance at once and wrote a letter of protest to one of the college publications getting the two other Negro students to sign it with her. The octette replied in a published letter of apology regretting their carelessness.

In a joint interview Stradella Lawrence and Olive Thurman had an in-

(*Continued on page* 92)

Segregated Schools — On Trial in East St. Louis

By Gloster B. Current

Militant citizens of East St. Louis, Ill., are fighting to break down the illegal local school board practice of segregating Negro children in local junior and senior high schools

THE explosive issue of segregation as a policy in the public schools of southern Illinois went up with a terrific bang at the beginning of the new semester this year (on Monday, January 31, to be exact) when three groups of Negro students tried unsuccessfully to enroll in the white schools of East St. Louis. The children, accompanied by parents and representatives of the local NAACP, were refused permission to register. Upon insistence of the local branch, however, they were given seats in an empty classroom of the high school, but no teachers were assigned to them.

This unparalleled action on the part of a Negro citizenry, which for many years had seemingly accepted segregation in its schools without protest, set off a chain reaction in this city of 100,000 population. East St. Louis is situated on the banks of the upper Mississippi river hardly a stone's throw from that citadel of jim crow, St. Louis, Missouri. City officials and some community leaders are groping for an answer to this NAACP challenge which threatens to end this city's policy of requiring Negro and white children to attend separate schools.

One hundred white students of the junior and senior high schools struck the next day (February 1) in protest against Negro children remaining in the building. The strike was not unexpected, for NAACP officials had warned the police department that the activity of agitators and the attitude of school officials and the daily press might result in some such action. On Tuesday morning, the colored children returned to their places in the teacherless classroom. An hour later, the white students walked out of classes, principally in the Rock junior high school, milled around the front of the buildings, and formed a picket line. About forty of them marched to the City Hall carrying hastily constructed signs on which were crudely lettered slogans such as "Strike," "Down with the Negroes," and "The Negroes, if they stay, we go." At the City Hall, the pickets were forced to give up their signs and disperse.

Meanwhile, during the strike, the Negro pupils were escorted from the buildings by the police and carried in police cars to the colored Lincoln high school and the Attucks grade school. The police, though they made no effort to halt the demonstration, took no sides in the controversy and at least kept it peaceful.

To prevent any further disturbance, the branch issued the following statement:

> The Lincoln students applied for admission to Rock junior high school and the senior high school and were refused enrollment. A case has been made and legal action is being taken. It is evident, then, that nothing further can be accomplished by the students continuing to seek enrollment. Therefore, the students have withdrawn from the schools and will not return. We are now awaiting action by the courts.

Background of Fight

For years Negroes in East St. Louis have complained of the inadequate facilities afforded their children in contrast with the better facilities available to white students. When a representative of the national office of the NAACP visited the city recently, David Owens, youthful president of the branch, and William "Billy" Jones, legal adviser, reported serious overcrowding in the colored schools.

At the Lincoln high school (a combination junior-senior high school attended by colored children), the students have been deprived of an auditorium and instruction in art; and they have inadequate music and shop facilities. Negro students also are denied admittance to the Vocational high school. The curriculum in the Negro schools is inferior to that in the white schools, especially in commercial subjects.

There is discrimination in the athletic program conducted by the board of education. The white junior and senior high schools have the use of Parsons Field, the municipal stadium owned by the board of education, for their football games. On the other hand, the pupils of Lincoln high school must use an adjoining wire-enclosed field for athletic events. It is claimed that Lincoln's field is so open that an ample view is afforded non-paying spectators. The discrimination against Negro public school students is heightened by the fact that the board of education stadium, while denied to Negro schools, is made available to the parochial schools. The playgrounds of the Negro schools are inferior to those of the white schools both in equipment and design.

Because of inadequate lunchroom equipment and space, the colored students do not have a hot lunch program, yet the white junior and senior high schools have a cafeteria.

When apprised of the action of the school board (which voted at its November meeting to delete an auditori-

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

THESE CHILDREN *spent the morning of January 31 sitting in an unused East St. Louis classroom after their application for enrollment in "white" schools was denied and no teacher came to class.*

um from plans for new construction at Lincoln high school because of lack of funds), the NAACP sent a delegation to the school board meeting of December 17, 1948. The delegation pointed out that the state law expressly forbids the practice of segregation in the public schools; told the board that the East St. Louis senior high school had room for and was planning to accept white students from an outside district; that there were forty empty classrooms in the white schools, while many classes at the Lincoln high school overflowed into the hallway. They made a twofold request: (1) that the $1,005,000 appropriation for the new school be used to build a school with modern educational facilities including, especially, an auditorium, music rooms, and provisions for art and vocational training; and (2) that the overflow students from Lincoln high school be sent to the East St. Louis senior high school instead of students brought in from outside the district.

This mild request, which skirted the main issue, an attack on the segregation policy, was denied by the school board. In turning down the request, one of the board members, Mr. Russell Bebee, termed it "silly." The branch then changed its tactics and began to plan an all-out legal assault on the policy of segregation per se in the public schools. Thus they brought their plans into conformity with the present program of the Association, and a committee began securing prospective students who would enroll at the white schools at the beginning of the next semester.

In its efforts to defeat the NAACP program, the school board used divisive tactics to weaken the campaign against segregation. When it learned that Negroes were contemplating applying for admission to the white schools, the president of the board of education, Miss Bernice Goedde, called a special meeting on January 25, 1949. For some reason she neglected to notify the recently elected Negro member, Marion Stallings. At this meeting the board voted to reaffirm its policy of separate schools and authorized the superintendent of schools to call a meeting of the Negro and white principals to advise them of the policy.

Five of the Negro principals, acting on orders from the superintendent, went to the parents who were planning to enroll their children in the white schools and advised them not to do so. They advanced the argument, which has been used in every city where an attack is made on the segregative system, that non-segregated schools would cost the principals and Negro teachers their jobs.

NAACP branch officials had to retrace their steps and inform parents of the successful experience of integration in other cities where segregated schools were eliminated and point out that competent Negro teachers and principals had nothing to fear from integration.

Propaganda was also spread by unknown persons in the Negro community to the effect that Jones and Owens, leaders of the protest movement, were leftists and "radicals" whose activities would bring grave harm to the Negro community, or cause a riot or other serious disturbance; that the national office of the NAACP would not back the residents in a fight against the present policy of the school board. The

Acme

THESE STUDENTS *of the Rock junior high school, East St. Louis, demonstrated on February 1 against the enrollment of Negro children in "white" schools. Notice the misspelling of Negroes ("Negros") on placard in foreground.*

visit of a national representative of the Association the next day served, however, to squelch these rumors.

Branch officials had hoped to launch a two-pronged attack on Monday by having white children apply at the colored schools at the same time that Negroes applied at the white schools. Two liberal white families had agreed to send their children to the colored schools and join in the legal action, but withdrew Monday morning (January 31) as a result of rumors that the Negro children might assault their children if they sought admission to the colored schools.

Stalling Tactics

At the regular meeting of the school board on February 3, Stallings protested his exclusion from the special meeting of January 25, at which the board had adopted a resolution to maintain its present policy of segregated schools. He reviewed the intolerable conditions of the Negro schools and made a motion that the board comply with the state laws and the Illinois school code by voting to end segregation. His motion died for want of a second. Miss Goedde and another board member explained to Stallings that no binding action was taken at the meeting from which he was absent. They excused their failure to notify him, after several attempts to do so, on the ground that they had been unsuccessful in getting him over the phone. From this chicanery on the part of school officials it is obvious the extent to which they will go in their efforts to maintain segregation as a policy.

On Tuesday afternoon, the day of the strike, Miss Goedde called a meeting of representatives of business and civic groups, the Chamber of Commerce and the East Side Associated Industries. Also invited were five Negro ministers. Uninvited, of course, were NAACP officials, Jones and Owens, who, however, upon hearing of the meeting, also attended.

According to Owens, the theme of the meeting was "now is not the time and there will be a race riot." One of the ministers termed the action of the NAACP branch as "rash" and "a serious blunder," claiming that neither the Negro public nor the ministers were supporting the movement. Three of the other ministers agreed with their colleagues. Liberal Reverend John D. Wright, pastor of the AME Church, however, supported the NAACP position and declared that taking the matter to the courts was the correct procedure. Gleefully, the local daily, The *Journal,* wrote a feature article headed, "SOUTH END MINISTERS REPUDIATE MOVE BY JONES AND OWENS TO ENROLL NEGRO PUPILS IN WHITE SCHOOLS."

When the ministers who had given aid and comfort to the "good white folks" returned to their homes, they found that much of what they had said was disapproved of by their parishoners. Since that time they have been trying to explain their position by differentiating between their opposition to segregation in principle, and their criticism of the "tactics" of Jones and Owens. Said one of them in explaining his position to an East St. Louis Negro newspaper, "I do not endorse segregation . . . [but] "we must act wisely. Rash actions will not solve the problem."

The president of the branch explained, "It is just such men as these that the white people have put up as our leaders for years. They are the ones who are always called in to represent us. However, this time they are finding out that the Negro people are repudiating them."

Since the methods of the local branch are approved NAACP tactics, necessary in order to begin legal action, it would appear that those leaders who term this action "rash" are still confused and out of step with the times.

The community was rallied to the efforts of the NAACP at a mass meeting sponsored by the branch on Monday, February 7. More than 1000 citizens crowded into the St. John's AME church to hear David Grant, former president of the St. Louis, Missouri, branch and a prominent attorney, tell of legal moves under consideration by the NAACP. Another 200 persons had to be accommodated at the Mt. Olive Baptist church, in an overflow meeting. To obtain funds for court costs, the citizens were organized into the East St. Louis Citizen's Committee for Equality in Education. The campaign has received pledges of support from the Illinois Interracial Commission, the Methodist Minister's Alliance and the Baptist Ministers Alliance and the Republican Negro Committee.

Leftists Horn In

As soon as the leftists heard of the NAACP program, they attempted to horn in by picketing the board of education building. Branch officials asked them not to demonstrate in order that the issues might remain before the public unclouded by extraneous matters and accusations of Communist infiltration. Nevertheless, the East St. Louis group of the Progressive Citizens of America, under the guise of a Freedom Day demonstration, went ahead with their plans and demonstrated in front of the school building.

The local daily, the *Journal,* is apparently working with the school board. It has been accused by branch officials of distortion of the facts and deliberate ommission of pertinent information. The papers across the river have, thus far, viewed the matter more objectively. The St. Louis *Globe Democrat* and the *Post Dispatch* have both been friendly and fair.

"The *Journal,*" says Owens, "is trying hard to give the impression that this is a movement led by a handful of Negroes and not by the Negro public." The following statement from an editorial, issue of February 1, substantiates his viewpoint:

> We are of the firm belief that the great majority of our Negro neighbors are not in sympathy with the actions of a few who are fomenting the present disturbance. The actions of these few are undoubtedly guided by outside influences—influences that are not in keeping with American thought and American methods.

Segregation Illegal

Segregation in education is contrary to Illinois statutes. In the assignment and appointment of pupils to schools, the law provides that "no pupil shall be excluded from or segregated in any such school on account of his color, race or nationality." Despite this clear intent of the law, segregation in public schools exists in twenty-nine school districts in the state. According to the Illinois *School Directory,* the following towns have segregated schools: Alton, Bland, Brookport. Cairo, Carbondale, Collinsville, Colp, Dunbar, DuQuoin, East St. Louis, Edwardsville, Golden, Lafayette, Lovejoy, Madison, Marion, Metropolis, Mound City, Mounds, Mount Vernon, Murphysboro, Pulaski, Quincy, Shawneetown, Sparta, Ullin, Venice, Villa Ridge and Young.

The Illinois state conference of branches of the NAACP has a program under way to attack segregation throughout the state and to make the state's civil rights laws effective. The campaign of the East St. Louis branch is the first step in that program.

Some of the citizens of East St. Louis, the school board, the *Journal,* local Ku Kluxers, and misguided Uncle Toms, may whistle in the dark hoping that the status quo will remain, but all evidence points in the other direction. The law is on the side of the NAACP. With the favorable climate of public opinion in America on civil rights and with a liberal governor in Illinois, Adlai Stevenson, the chances are that segregation in the public

(*Continued on page* 92)

Customer Reaction to Negro Sales Personnel

These findings relative to customer reaction to the employment of Negro salesclerks in New York City and Connecticut department stores summarize a report to The Inter-racial Commission of the State of Connecticut made by Dr. Gerhart Saenger, of New York University

ONE of the reasons that some merchants have been unwilling to employ qualified Negro sales personnel is their fear that it will cost them a lost of patronage. Such has not been the experience of large department stores which have integrated Negroes among their employees. A study by the research committee on Intergroup Relations in New York City confirms the experience of Connecticut stores that customers do not in fact show themselves to be influenced by the presence or absence of Negroes in the sales force.

Prejudiced persons, as Dr. Gunnar Myrdal has pointed out, are faced with a dilemma between their prejudice and their belief in the American philosophy of life with equal opportunities for all. In this study the aim was to determine whether a prejudiced customer, in the presence of a Negro sales person, would resolve his dilemma between his democratic attitude and his prejudicial attitude in favor of accepting the situation.

This study shows that prejudice does not influence buying behavior. If it did, one could expect that people buying from Negroes would be less prejudiced than those buying from white clerks. However, when persons were interviewed who had just been observed buying at a counter where a Negro clerk and a white clerk were standing in close proximity, it turned out that those who had been buying from the white clerk showed the same range of prejudice as those who had just bought from a Negro clerk.

This range, which was the same with an equally large number of persons who had not been observed at this particular counter, is summarized as follows: One-fifth approved of Negro sales personnel, but showed stereotyped notions concerning Negro inferiority. Two-fifth of the people sampled were more or less prejudiced. One-half of *those prejudiced* approved of Negro salesclerks except for such departments as clothing, lingerie, and food; while the remaining half were opposed to the hiring of Negro sales personnel generally.

It is interesting to note that none of those who had just come from the food department objected to Negroes handling food, although some objected to their presence in the clothing and lingerie departments. On the other hand, those who had just been observed in the lingerie and clothing departments did not object to Negro clerks there but some of them objected to Negroes handling food. Another interesting fact is that of nine people, in a sample of 256, who said that they would never buy from a Negro, three had just been observed buying from a Negro less than an hour before they were interviewed.

This study leaves no doubt that prejudiced people, when asked, will express their prejudices. It seems wise, therefore, to introduce Negro sales personnel without prior announcement or questioning of the public. For prior discussion only serves to crystallize opposition. Whenever there is prior discussion the prejudiced person believes that the choice is left to him, and hence will object. His objection will influence management, creating apprehension about the consequences of introducing Negro clerks.

The presentation of a *fait accompli*, however, leads to acquiescence by even the most prejudiced. They feel that public opinion is against them and they reconcile themselves in one way or another to the presence of a new group of employees. This is especially true if the introduction of the new employees is gradual, and care is taken in choosing the first members of the new group. This was the method followed by the New York department stores with which this study dealt.

In Connecticut the number of Negroes employed in sales and clerical positions in retail stores has been constantly increasing. A count taken in Hartford last year revealed 88 Negroes employed in such positions. (This does not include positions such as elevator operators, stock handlers, wrappers, or porters, as this sort of work has been traditionally available to Negroes). Negro sales and clerical personnel are found in Hartford, New Britain, New Haven, Bridgeport, and Danbury. Parenthically, it might be remarked here that Connecticut employers are legally obliged by the State Fair Employment Practices Act to provide equal opportunity for qualified applicants regardles of race, religion, or nationality.

The following letter from Maurice H. Berins, personnel director of G. Fox & Company, of Hartford, might be regarded as representative of the experience of employers who have hired Negro sales personnel:

"The management feels that integration of Negroes and whites in our employ has worked out very well, and it pursues the policy of evaluating people as people without concern for color or creed. Customer reactions have, on the whole, been most favorable, with very few adverse comments.

"From our experience we have found these methods successful: Careful selection in hiring; understanding by department heads of the justice of equal consideration for all races and management's policy against discrimination, and elimination of resistance from the white fellow workers."

Another store reported that following the employment of the first colored salesclerk a white girl in an entirely different department resigned her job.

(*Continued on page* 92)

The White Man's Primary

By J. Austin Burkhart

How the Populist Movement, ironically enough, came to produce in Grimes county, Texas, the whitest of white primaries

IT is more than an interesting bit of historical irony that the Populist Movement should have produced the whitest of the white man's primaries. Down in the piny woods country of East Texas, around the turn of the last century, the People's Party elected a Negro from Grimes county to the state legislature. Out of this grew an association, limited to white men, which has ever since exercised ironclad control over county and local politics.

Today, despite the invalidation of racially restricted primaries, "The Free State of Grimes" goes along with its time-honored practice of screening candidates not once but twice before the general election, making certain that only simon pure, white nominees are selected. In every election year prior to the Democratic primary, which is still in effect for white men only, the White Men's Union holds a private primary to determine the individuals upon whom it may bestow its seal of approval. When this is done, the 100% pure white nominees are assured of office. A gentlemen's agreement, whereby members of the union pledge themselves to support only the persons nominated in the association's primary, makes election automatic.

The Negro population of Grimes county is no different from that of neighboring counties. Ignorance and illiteracy, the two accommodations of prejudice, are no greater than they are fifty miles in any direction. Yet Negro suffrage is still to be realized in Grimes county while the surrounding areas have long since accorded the Negro this fundamental right. In Grimes county the idea of white supremacy has become institutionalized. As it often happens in the South, race prejudice here is to a large degree a matter of habit, exercised without thought and perpetuated by tradition. Reinforcing the prevailing discriminations, the White Man's Union maintains prejudices in politics by encasing them in the hard cake of custom.

Early in the spring of each general election year, the County Executive Committee of the union meets and determines the offices for which each precinct in the county may enter candidates. At the time the union was organized there were eight precinct and eight county offices—just enough to go around. Subsequently, one county office was abolished and now there are eight precincts but only seven offices. To take care of this disallocation, when the drawings are made, eight slips are put into a hat; seven contain the name of an office while the eighth is a blank. Any resident who is a member of the White Man's Union is eligible to run for the office drawn by the precinct in which he lives. In the private election which follows, ballots are printed with the following pledge: "I am a member of the White Man's Union of Grimes county, Texas, in good standing. I hereby pledge myself to support and vote for the various choices of this primary as candidates before the Democratic primary."

Purely Political

The White Man's Union is purely a political organization. There are no initiation fees and no dues are assessed. No meetings are held except the one in March in every election year. The minutes of the meetings are not saved, and all records are destroyed as quickly as possible. One member put it this way, "I was a White Man for ten years before I found out that no minutes were kept. I asked the secretary to read a resolution passed at an earlier meeting and the dad gum guy told me that the minutes were burned after each meeting." This sleight of hand approach is part and parcel of the organization. For example, at the spring meeting of the lodge at Anderson, Texas, photographers from the nearby Navosota newspaper came over to take some pictures. The newsmen got the pictures but not until a great deal of criticism and protest had been expressed by members who did not wish to be publicly associated with the organization.

For years the White Man's Union operated in the smooth vacuum of legal invulnerability. During the Twenties and Thirties a series of cases contesting the constitutionality of the white man's primary were presumably brought to a close in Grovey v. Townshend. Here the point of disagreement was whether the State Convention of the Democratic party could limit membership in the party to the white race. The court upheld the exclusion by the State Convention on the ground that the State of Texas had not acted to deprive any person of the equal protection of the laws. The decision reinforced with cement the concept that a political party was a private organization which could determine the character of its membership.

Judicial View

Judicial views on the subject of primaries took a rather sharp and sudden turn in 1941 when the Supreme Court ruled in unmistakable language in *United States v. Classic* that a primary election was an integral part of the election machinery. From this conclusion it was just one short step for the court to hold in *Smith v. Allwright*, 1944, that the white Democratic primary in Texas was contrary to the Fifteenth Amendment. Speaking for all but one of his colleagues, Mr. Justice Reed announced: "The party takes its character as a state agency from the duties imposed on it by state statutes: the duties do not become matters of private law because they are performed by a political party."

United States v. Classic and *Smith v. Allwright* are the two leading cases upon which recent decisions involving

racially restricted primaries coming before the federal courts have been based. In *Chapman v. King*, 1946, the circuit court of appeals substantiated the right of a Negro in Georgia to vote for state officers as well as his right to vote for federal officials in primary elections. More pertinent to the same opinion was whether the Democratic party could exclude Negroes from the party primary if the state did not directly, by statute, control the primary election. The circuit court ignored the absence of direct regulations and contended that the state by association collaborated in the conduct of the primary. In so doing the State of Georgia put its power behind the rules of the Democratic party. Hence the exclusion of the voters by the party became the exclusion of voters by the state. As such, the procedure was invalidated as being contrary to the Constitution and the laws of the United States. The Supreme Court of the United States refused to interfere with this decision.

Still unsettled even after *Chapman v. King* was the question of how private can a political party become. Immediately after *Smith v. Allwright* the governor of South Carolina called an extraordinary session of the General Assembly. The purpose of this session was to repeal all statutes (approximately 150) relating to the state regulation of primaries as well as to pass legislation anticipating the removal of all parts of the state constitution affecting primaries. As the result of the work of the legislature and the action of the people in the general election, all statutory control over the Democratic primary was eliminated.

With this as a background, a Negro, George Elmore, brought suit against the managers of Ward 9 Precinct in Richland county, South Carolina, and the Democratic County Executive Committee testing the legality of the action of these officials in not permitting qualified Negroes to vote in the Democratic primary in 1946. In the case that followed, *Elmore v. Rice*, the federal district court stressed two important questions: (1) whether, in view of the extraction work performed by the legislature, the primary was still the equivalent of an election, and (2) whether the primary was a private affair.

The opinion of Federal Judge J. Waites Waring forcibly maintained that the Democratic primary was indisputably the only realistic election in South Carolina. To add weight and substance to this conclusion, he dramatically pointed out that in 1946, 290,223 votes were cast for the office of governor in the Democratic primary and only 26,326 votes cast for the same office in the general election. Furthermore, since 1900 every elected state or federal official has been a nominee of the Democratic party. Judge Waring concluded his opinion, ". . . if the only material and realistic elections are clothed with the name primary they (Negroes) are equally entitled to vote there."

The defendants declared that the private character of the Democratic party was now patent since the statutory and constitutional provisions had been removed. They contended that the party must now be treated as a private business or social club, with the Negro having no more right to vote in the Democratic primary than he had to vote for the officers of the Lake Forest Country Club. The federal district court rejected this argument, observing that social clubs do not vote and do not elect officers to our government. When the case was appealed to the circuit court of appeals, the same plea was also denied. The circuit court stated that in the early days of the Republic political parties may have been private organizations, but today they have become governmental agencies through which the sovereign power of the people is expressed. Any interference in the opportunity to exercise this sovereign power is contrary to the Constitution. Furthermore, the court noted that a state cannot ignore the constitutional provisions forbidding a denial of suffrage on racial grounds when it allows a party to take over the election machinery.

"Disfranchisement was the work of provincial partisans in the South and it made possible the protracted rule of this class of politicians in the Southern States. It has narrowed the vision, warped the soul, and intensified the brutal passions; and the whole country is afflicted with the evils of this civic disorder. It has nourished prejudice where charity should have been cultivated; it has fostered ignorance where education was needed, and it has promulgated falsehood where only the truth was needed to make the people free. It has done greater injury to the white man than to the black man."

WILLIAM H. SKAGGS
The Southern Oligarchy

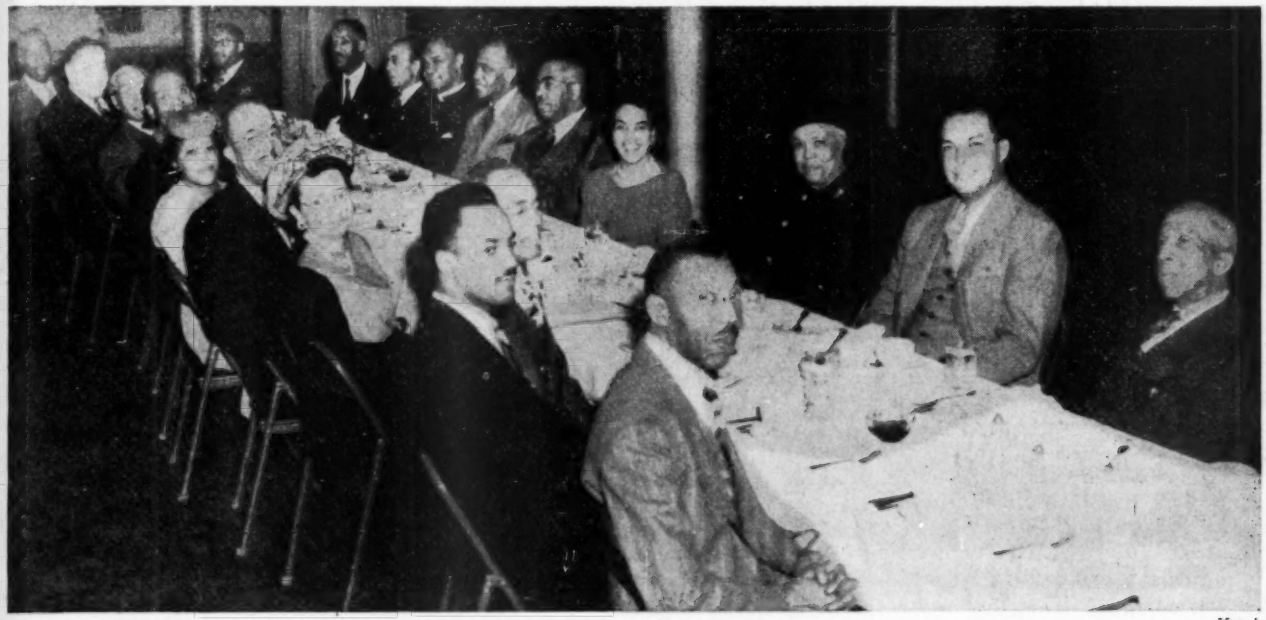
Grimes County Perturbed

The recent pronouncements of the Supreme Court and other federal courts have caused disturbing undertones in Grimes county. One county official remarked, "The union may be living on borrowed time. I reckon a federal court ruling up yonder in South Carolina or Georgia makes this organization as unconstitutional as one minute past midnight. I mean the court carried the primary from the state down to the county, to the town, to the precinct—well, Plumb down to your own front yard." In a less picturesque manner, the court did say in *Rice v. Elmore*: ". . . and no election machinery can be upheld if its purpose or effort is to deny the Negro, account of his race or color, any effective voice in the government of his country, or the state or community wherein he lives."

It would be a misrepresentation to imply that there are not discontented voices in Grimes county. Some realize and admit the basic unfairness to the Negro. Such people feel that you cannot keep a man in the ditch without staying in the ditch with him. Of course at the fork of the creek this sentiment is, perhaps, never expressed. Consequently if the private primary is eliminated it will probably result from a court decision growing out of its obvious unconstitutionality.

But even when such associations are eliminated, it will be some time before all rural election boards in the South grant the Negro full access to the ballot box. The point to be underlined is that minority rights must be fought for in every succeeding year. Lincoln solved the race problem, the Reconstruction boys settled the suffrage question, the Fifteenth Amendment resolved the matter of Negro voting, and yet the issue is still with us. Like all social problems, minority discrimination is set in marble and we must continually chip away at its foundation stone, ignorance and stupidity. Underlying all efforts at reform is the uncompromising truism that we cannot have much more democracy than the people of a particular area are willing to accept. However, this is not to deny the importance and necessity of legal safeguards. Constitutional and statutory barricades against the invasion of civil rights are the earmarks of any democracy. Their importance is well illustrated by the phenomenal increase in Negro voting since the Supreme Court declared the white man's primary to be unconstitutional. The time has now come for the South along with every section of the country to recognize more fully other aspects of the Constitution.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront



Harris

BANQUET OF A GROUP *of Pittsburgh, Pa., ministers, representing all local denominations, who pledged support to the local branch of the NAACP. The dinner was held in the Central Baptist church, Pittsburgh.*

NATIONAL CAPITAL

Bar Jim Crow Closed Shop: An amendment to the new labor bill, banning denial of employment because of race under any closed shop agreement, was urged in February by Clarence Mitchell, NAACP labor secretary, in a statement submitted to the Senate committee on labor and public welfare now holding hearings on the bill.

In his statement, Mr. Mitchell recalled that the NAACP had opposed enactment of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act, and he re-affirmed the Association's position in requesting repeal of that law. Any new statute, he asserted, must include provisions "to safeguard the rights of persons who are excluded from union membership because of race."

Mr. Mitchell submitted a series of four recommendations to provide such safeguards. He asked (1) that the National Labor Relations Board deny certification to any labor organization which "denies full membership rights or privileges to, or which segregates or otherwise discriminates against, any employee because of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry"; (2) that provision be made for new hearings in cases where, subsequent to certification, a labor organization discriminates on racial grounds; (3) that no employer be required to bargain collectively with a labor organization which is ineligible for certification because of discrimination; and (4) that no person be discharged or denied employment because of lack of membership in, or failure to pay dues to, a labor organization which denies him membership or otherwise discriminates against him.

Reprieve Granted: In an order signed by Justice Frank Murphy, the United States Supreme Court granted in February a stay of execution for Robert Austin Watts, Indiana Negro youth sentenced to death on a murder charge.

The Association filed the motion for stay of execution before the U. S. Supreme Court after the supreme court of Indiana had denied a petition for rehearing of the case. The motion maintains that there are two federal issues involved in the case: that of exclusion of Negroes from jury service, and the use of a confession allegedly obtained under coercion.

Although the names of Negroes are placed in the jury box in Marion county, no Negroes have served on the grand jury in that county for more than twenty-five years. The motion further charged that Watts was held for a long period of time and questioned in solitary confinement after his clothes had been taken from him, and that no lawyers or friends were permitted to see him. He was not arraigned until eight days after his arrest.

After the supreme court of Indiana affirmed the conviction and sentence, and refused to grant a rehearing of the case, the motion for stay of execution was granted to the U. S. Supreme Court; it was granted the day before Watts was scheduled for execution. The petition for reprieve was vigorously opposed by the attorney general of Indiana.

Asks Presidential Ban on FHA Segregation: Speedy executive action to ban federal support of racial restrictions in housing has been asked in a letter addressed to President Truman by Walter White, executive secretary. The letter, and an accompanying 21-page memorandum prepared by Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, were released on February 4.

Mr. White's letter, dated February 1, charges that the Federal Housing Administration, despite a U. S. Supreme Court decision invalidating judicial enforcement of restrictive covenants, "has continued to lend its full support to the perpetuation of ghettos." The charges were documented in Mr. Marshall's memorandum.

REPORT ON INGRAMS

Mrs. Geneva Rushin, daughter of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram, Georgia widow imprisoned for the self-defense slaying of a white neighbor, affirms in a sworn affidavit, released on February 10, that she and Mrs. Ingram's dependent children are being "adequately provided for" by the Association.

Mrs. Rushin made her statement upon arrival in New York to confer with NAACP officials about the legal defense of her imprisoned mother and two brothers, and care for the remaining eight minor children for whom she is guardian. Mrs. Rushin left New York immediately for Philadelphia to pick up her brothers, Charles and James, who had been brought north by the International Workers' Order and from whom she had not heard in a month.

Disturbed by charges that the family was being neglected and that Charles and James were begging on the streets of northern cities, Mrs. Rushin sought to make clear the assistance being received from the NAACP by swearing to an affidavit executed in Atlanta on February 9 before C. E. Hanley, notary public.

The NAACP assumed the legal defense of Mrs. Ingram and the two teen-age sons convicted with her, and has undertaken the care of the family during the emergency. Through public subscription the sum of $45,262.71 has been raised for these purposes.

"The local committee in Americus, Ga., set up by the Association, has and does each and every week pay for groceries and food stuff for the family which is ordered through me," Mrs. Rushin attested. She further affirmed that "at all times I order enough food to properly feed the family. That the family has enough clothing and is adequately provided for under the circumstances."

The Association, she continued, "has cleared the title on land owned by my Mother and other lawful heirs in the family. Adequate provisions are made whenever I request to take the children to visit Mother."

Challenging charges of neglect, Mrs. Rushin further swore "that any one who has publicly announced that any of the children are without proper medical care, hungry, naked, and that snakes creep into the house spoke an untruth. There is no need for any of my brothers or sisters to beg on the streets of any city for anything for themselves or the family. If any of the children are begging on the street, they are doing so without my knowledge and consent."

In her sworn statement, Mrs. Rushin alleged that last July she had been misled by "certain organizations who represented themselves to me through mail as being affiliated with the NAACP and requested that I send two of my brothers to Philadelphia for the purpose of going to camp and to school. Believing that these were bona fide offers, I sent Charles and James without the knowledge of the NAACP." She later discovered that no other organization had been affiliated with the NAACP in the case.

NEW NAACP ASSISTANT FIELD SECRETARY, *Anne Brown, joined the national office staff in 1946 as secretary in the legal department. Miss Brown was promoted to the field staff in January, 1949. She attended Hunter college and has done work with community civic groups.*

Since title to her mother's property has been cleared, Mrs. Rushin has been assured that the Georgia state conference of NAACP branches will proceed immediately to erect a home on the land.

Officials of the Georgia State Board of Correction, in response to a wire, have informed the Association that Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram is in satisfactory health and that in the opinion of an examining physician she is able to perform those duties "of a light nature" assigned her.

"This individual was examined by Dr. D. M. Silver of Richmond County on January 21, 1949," states the communication from J. B. Hatchett, assistant director of the State Board of Corrections. "In his opinion [she] is able to do the normal work required in her duties at that institution which is of a light nature." He states, too, "that there is no heart condition apparent; that she has shortness of breath at times due to being overweight, which condition is brought about by the fact she is a hearty eater."

Ransom

MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH COMMITTEE *of the NAACP shown discussing plans for celebration of NAACP Sunday, February 27. Front row, left to right: Dr. John Haynes Holmes, pastor of the Community church, N. Y.; Dr. C. Robeson, Mother AME church, N. Y.; Dr. Channing H Tobias, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund; Dr. O. Clay Maxwell, Mt. Olivet Baptist church, N. Y.; (back row), Father J. J. Little of Providence, R. I.; and Rev. Walter P. Offutt, Jr., NAACP church secretary.*

OTHER ITEMS

Institutes Damage Suit: A $5000 damage suit against the counties of Greenville and Pickens, S. C., in behalf of Mrs. Tessie Earle, mother of a Negro youth who was lynched by a group of white men early in 1947, was instituted in February.

Willie Earle, the lynch victim, had been arrested and confined in the Pickens county jail charged with the murder of Thomas W. Brown, a white taxi driver. On the night of February 17, 1947, Earle was removed from the jail by a group of white men who took him to Greenville county and lynched him. At a subsequent trial all those responsible for the lynching were acquitted.

Attorneys representing Mrs. Earle are NAACP special counsel Thurgood Marshall and assistant special counsel Franklin H. Williams, and Harold R. Boulware, of Columbia, S. C.

Anti-Jim-Crow Battle: The national office is offering the East St. Louis, Ill., branch unqualified support in its battle against racial segregation in the schools of that city.

Negro students in East St. Louis have been refused admission to white schools despite the fact that the Negro schools are inadequate and overcrowded while the white schools have empty classrooms. They enrolled in a white school, but sat without a teacher in the empty classrooms on the first day of the current semester, and were removed when one hundred white students of the Rock junior high school went out on strike because of their presence. The school board held a secret meeting without notifying its Negro member, Miss Stallings, at which it reaffirmed its policy of segregation and instructed Negro principals to advise Negro parents not to seek enrollment of their children in white schools.

THESE SPEAKERS *addressed the annual meeting of the Fairfax county, Va., branch in December. L to R: W. Lester Banks, executive secretary Virginia state conference; E. B. Henderson, chairman executive committee local branch; Mrs. Esther Cooper, president Arlington county branch; J. Rupert Picott, executive secretary Virginia Teachers Association, guest speaker; and James Gilliam, executive secretary Virginia Negro Organization Society.*

It has also been disclosed that Negroes are denied admission to vocational schools and are not allowed to use the Municipal Auditorium, owned by the board of education, although parochial schools are given this privilege.

Withdraw Offensive Film: Blumberg, president of Universal Pictures Co., Inc., has notified the Association that the film cartoon "Scrub Me Mama" has been withdrawn from circulation following protests.

The national office and several branches had received complaints that the movie was a vicious caricature of Negro life, and that it was "insulting, derogatory, and offensive."

Louisiana Branch First to Meet Fund Quota: The first branch to meet its quota for the fortieth anniversary fund is the 69-member unit in Geismar, Louisiana. The branch, whose officers are Ernest Marcell, president, and Thomas Brown, secretary, remitted $50 in payment of its quota. All branches have been assigned quotas, ranging from $50 to $2,000, in accordance with their size.

Work on fulfilling membership and fortieth anniversary campaign quotas has also begun in St. Louis, East St. Louis, and Memphis. Rev. L. L. Haynes, president of the Missouri state conference of branches, announced in February that his state conference has pledged itself to raise $10,000 for the Fortieth Anniversary Fund and to secure 15,000 members in Missouri.

Judge Delany New Life Member: Another life member was added to the roster of the NAACP when Justice Hubert T. Delany of the New York City Domestic Relations Court took out a $500 membership in February.

In a letter to Walter White, Judge Delany wrote: "My life membership has already been too long delayed, but,

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., *branch incoming and outgoing presidents; L to R: James E. King, retiring president, Rev. Mathew E. Neil, incoming president, and Rev. T. E. Harper, who installed officers and members executive committee.*

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS *of the White Plains, N. Y., branch during installation ceremonies. L to R: Rev. Roscoe Mitchell of Tarrytown, N. Y., installing officer; Mrs. Fannie Whitted, Thomas Griffen, of executive Committee; Edmund C. Bernard, membership chairman; William Harris, executive committee; Osceola C. Turner, treasurer; Dr. Errold D. Collymore, president; Bessie Emanuel, second vice-president; Mrs. Ernestine W. Perry, secretary; Mary Roache, assistant secretary; Raymond Ayler and Mrs. Selena Smalls, executive committee.*

as you know, my interest, concern and enthusiasm for the NAACP has steadily increased . . . [The NAACP] is constantly on the firing line in the defense of civil rights for the citizens of our democracy. This fight must go on and with intensified enthusiasm."

Judge Delany, a board member of the Association, was appointed in 1945 for a ten-year term as Domestic Relations Court Justice and was previously Tax Commissioner of the Borough of Manhattan.

Mrs. Mallard Begins Tour: The February itinerary for the NAACP-sponsored tour of Mrs. Amy Mallard, widow of the Georgia lynch victim, has included six meetings in the New York City area and six others in eastern seaboard localities.

Mrs. Mallard began her tour with a meeting in the Washington Unitarian church January 31, at which time a thousand people heard her tell the tragic story of her husband's murder and an estimated five hundred more had to be turned away at the door. Mrs. Mallard has also told her story on two radio programs.

The NAACP is the only agency officially authorized by Mrs. Mallard to "help bring to justice those responsible for the lynching of my late husband, Robert Mallard, as well as to raise all funds necessary for this purpose and for the support of myself and children and the two material witnesses, William T. Carter and Angeline Carter, until we can re-adjust ourselves."

What the Branches Are Doing

ALABAMA: A verdict of not guilty was returned by a circuit court in Birmingham in the case in which Flossie Mae Jones was charged with murder following the fatal shooting on April 14 of Deputy Sheriff Dewey Rickles. First arrested for safe-keeping, Mrs. Jones was later charged with the death of Sheriff Rickles, who was slain by Lott Vergess, Mrs. Jones' common-law husband. Following the slaying of the sheriff, the homes of two Negroes in Birmingham were dynamited. As a result many Negroes fled the community. The BIRMINGHAM branch investigated the situation and collected monies to fight the case.

Governor James E. Folsom of Alabama recently appointed a 35-member committee to study the problem of college training for Negroes in his state. Of the thirty-five members only four are Negroes, all of whom are in one way or another connected with the state department of education.

Since the problem to be studied involves Negroes, the BIRMINGHAM branch wrote the governor on January 7 asking that the personnel of the committee be expanded to include ten more members, their names being included in the letter.

GEORGIA: The seventh annual Georgia state conference of branches, meeting in CORDELE in December, passed resolutions in support of President Truman's civil-rights program, against any action by the Georgia legislature which might restrict the right of franchise, and urged the enactment of federal legislation in support of education, housing and health.

VIRGINIA: The RICHMOND branch held a big mass meeting in December to protest against police brutality in the capital city. Speakers were Dr. C. C. Scott, pastor of the Fifth Street Baptist church, and Attorney Martin A. Martin, legal representative of the local branch.

What the Regions Are Doing

SOUTHWEST: THREE STATES in the region are preparing to present bills to their respective legislatures, now in session, to further our cause. Texas and Oklahoma state branches are working with coalition groups to back various types of bills, and in New Mexico the Albuquerque branch is sponsoring civil rights and FEPC bills. In Texas the coalition group and the Texas Council of Negro Organizations called a statewide mass meeting in Austin on February 18 to add strength to its already launched legislative program.

Hill

CAMPAIGN LEADERS *during the membership campaign of the St. Louis, Mo., branch: L to R: Mrs. Stella B. Price, membership secretary; Eugene Plant, division leader; Mrs. Fannie Pitts, Mrs. Birdie B. Anderson, and Guy S. Ruffin, president.*

THE DIXIECRATS received a thumping licking when Alabama's infamous Boswell amendment, a so-called "education test" device to keep Negroes from voting, was ruled unconstitutional by a three-judge federal court. The judges said that they were convinced that the amendment has been "arbitrarily used for the purpose of excluding Negro applicants from the franchise" and that "we cannot ignore the impact of the Boswell amendment upon Negro citizens" although it avoided the mention of race or color. The three judges were all natives of Alabama—Judge Clarence Mullins of Birmingham, Judge John McDuffie of Mobile and Judge Leon McCord of the fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, with headquarters in New Orleans.

LAGRANGE, TEXAS: On Monday, January 17, the regional special counsel, the regional secretary, and Dr. N. M. Christopher, an expert in the field of education from Bishop college, Marshall, Texas, visited LaGrange for the purpose of inspecting the school facilities in white and Negro schools in reference to the case of Julius Brown vs. Board of Trustees of LaGrange, and Civil Action 4223. The inspection revealed substantial inequalities in present buildings and in respect to certain courses, particularly natural science, business and commercial subjects, shop and industrial arts. The Negro school has no gymnasium, tennis courts, auditorium, or facilities for the federal hot-lunch program. The white high school has all of these facilities and services. At the present time the Board of Trustees of this community has laid the foundation for and is in the process of constructing three additional classrooms for the Negro high school, together with a combined gymnasium and auditorium which will also provide facilities for the hot lunch program. It is estimated that these buildings will be complete by September, 1949, at a cost of approximately $80,000.

WHILE IN WASHINGTON, D. C., on his way back from staff conferences in New York the week of January 2, the regional secretary had interviews with Senators Russell Long of Louisiana and Lyndon Johnson of Texas. Main purpose of the interviews with these gentlemen was to confirm the fact that Negro votes had much to do with their victories in their respective states, and that henceforth they had a definite responsibility to our people. Both voluntarily admitted that they knew Negroes had voted for them in overwhelming numbers, and acknowledged an obligation to them. And both pledged that in those instances where they found it impossible to give active support to our cause, they would not be found bearing arms among our enemies—the filibusterers and race-baiters.

Frankly, the regional secretary was most favorably impressed by both senators Long and Johnson and by the cordial reception accorded him by both. The interview with Senator Long lasted an hour and fifteen minutes, that with Senator Johnson an hour and thirty-five minutes, and issues were discussed with such candor as to leave little doubt in the mind of the regional secretary that both gentlemen are honest and sincere.

NEW YORK: The WHITE PLAINS branch installed new officers for 1949 at the Little Theatre of the Westchester County Center on January 16. The meeting, with about 250 persons present, was addressed by Louis K. Horalyk of the Social Security Administration, the Yonkers, N. Y., office.

The following officers and committee chairmen were installed: Dr. Errold D. Collymore, president; Edmund C. Bernard, first vice-president; Bessie Emanuel, second vice-president; Jefferson E. Perry, third vice-president; Mrs. Ernestine W. Perry, secretary; Mary Roache, assistant secretary; and Osceola C. Turner, treasurer. Executive committee members are Alvis Tinnin, labor and industry; Dr. Arthur M. Williams, Samuel L. Parham, Jr., education; Edmund C. Bernard, membership; Mrs. Pearl Tinnin, entertainment; Orville Griggs, program; Mrs. Malissa Scott, publicity; other committee members

Layne

NEW YORK BRANCH AND YOUTH COUNCIL *officers meet to map plans for closer cooperation in their 1949 program. Shaking hands are Lindsey White (left., branch president, and Aurelio Sterling, youth council president.*

are Dr. C. L. Davidson, Raymond Ayler, Mrs. Selena Smalls, William Harris, Thomas Griffen, Mrs. Fannie Whitted, Bessie Emanuel, Jefferson E. Perry, Osceola C. Turner, Bessie Emanuel, and Mary Roache.

"On the Beam" With Youth Councils

YOUTH GOALS SET FOR 1949: NAACP youth councils and college chapters are being called upon to increase their membership more than two hundred percent in 1949. The goals are 50,000 new members under twenty-five years of age; 150 new youth councils; 50 new college chapters; and 10 new state youth conferences.

Presidents of state conferences of branches in attendance at the meeting on January 3, 1949, in the Willkie Memorial Building, New York City, were asked by Mrs. Ruby Hurley, youth secretary, to "take immediate steps to insure the fullest participation of young people in the membership campaign and in the total NAACP program." Individual NAACP branches, recreation and community centers, youth-serving agencies, and newspapers are being urged to cooperate in the effort to reach these goals.

During 1948, sixty-six youth councils and eighteen college chapters were chartered and youth memberships exceeded the 1947 totals by 2,748. The South Carolina state conference showed the greatest increase in membership, with 1583 in 1948 over 827 in 1947. Other states showing increases in youth membership were Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Texas, and the District of Columbia.

In connection with the 40th anniversary, youth groups will participate in a "Miss NAACP Contest," the rules for which will be announced later.

The National Planning and Advisory Committee to youth councils and college chapters, which was elected at the St. Louis youth conference, will assume leadership in their respective regions. Members of this committee are as follows: Ailue Gunter, chairman, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.; Gertie Henderson, secretary, St. Louis, Missouri; LeRoy Beal, assistant secretary, Dallas, Texas; Albert Henderson, vice-chairman, Piqua, Ohio; Julius Fuller, Kinston, North Carolina; W. W. Law, Savannah, and Dorthy Adams, Atlanta, Georgia; Wendell Campbell, East Chicago, Indiana; Melusena Carl, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Harry Alexander, New Orleans, Louisiana; Arthur Bryant, Des Moines, Iowa; Vernell Fuller, Langston, Oklahoma; and Harry Burdick, St. Joseph, Missouri.

On January 10, presidents and representatives from the executive committees of NAACP chapters at New York and Columbia universities, Brooklyn, Queens, and Hunter colleges met in the Willkie Memorial building to organize an Intercollegiate Council.

Clarence H. Hunter, president of the New York university chapter, who was elected temporary chairman, in discussing the future plans for the Council, declared: "It is imperative that a clearing house for information and a center for coordination of action be provided for NAACP college chapters in New York City if we are to make a real contribution in the struggle for civil rights. We cannot presume that an effective job will be done if each remains in his ivory tower attempting to work independently."

The council will also support the NAACP legislative and other national programs, and pledged support to the New York state conference of branches and the national office in the fight against segregation in the New York National Guard.

NEW COUNCIL ORGANIZED: Thirty charter members of the Chapel Hill youth council, in their first regular meeting Sunday, January 30, elected Leon Peace as first permanent president of the chapter.

Robert Boyd was elected vice-president; Carrie Jackson, recording secretary; George Jones, corresponding secretary; and Mrs. Margie Seals, treasurer.

The membership voted to hold regular meetings every first and third Sunday of the month at 3:30 p.m. in the Community Center and to attend a special leadership class in as large numbers as possible.

Chairmen of the various committees are: publicity, Mrs. Frances Koral; program research, Robert Hargraves and James Goins; *Crisis Magazine*, Mary Norwood; labor and industry, Dan Jackson; education, Dick Koral; entertainment, Samuel Atwater; membership, Georgia McCoy and Kent Ericson; and the parliamentarian, John Lineweaver.

NEW OFFICERS INSTALLED: The recent elected officers and executive committee chairmen of the Savannah, Ga., youth council were installed on January 9 at the St. Phillip AME. church at Charles and West Broad streets.

Clifford E. Hardwick, III, the retiring president of the local council delivered the installation address and presented the newly elected president, Clarence Johnson, and the new slate of officers and executive committee chairman.

The officers installed were Clarence Johnson, president; William N. Weston, vice-president; Morris Jones, secretary; and Edward E. Greene, Jr., treasurer.

Wide World

CHESTER BOWLES WITH TWO "FIRSTS"—*Connecticut Gov. Chester Bowels (center) stands with two of his staff members following his inauguration on January 5 in Hartford. Left is Major Margaret Fraser Lindsay, first woman to be appointed to a Connecticut governor's staff, and right is Major Edward Dixon, first Negro on a Connecticut governor's staff.*

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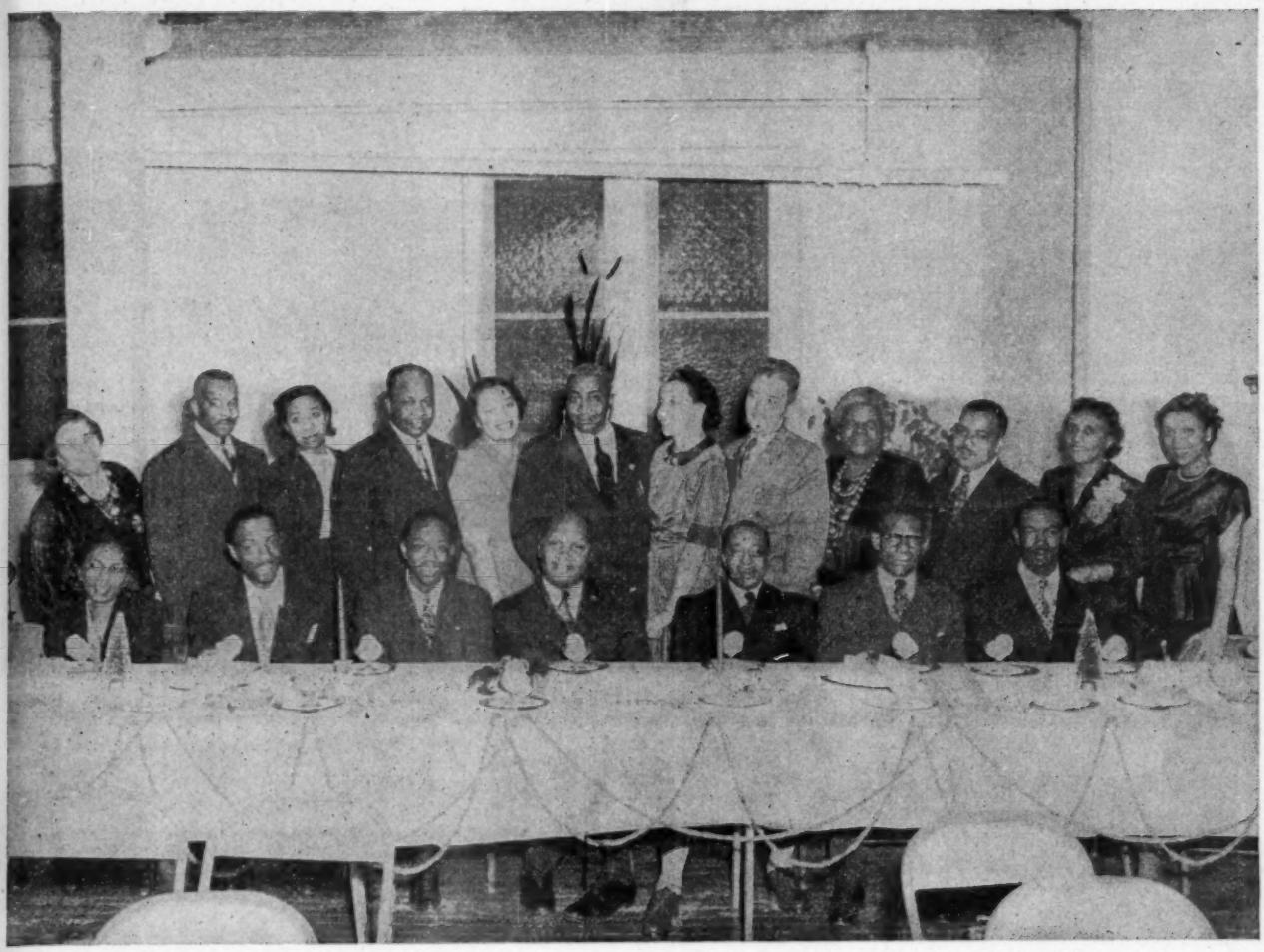

NEW OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS *of the Atlantic City, N. J., branch. Installed on December 20, 1948, by Rev. T. E. Harper of the Union Baptist temple, these officers are (front row) L to R: Mrs. Beatrice Boulden, outgoing first vice-president; Robert Griffin, promotional director; Ralston Gaiter, second vice-president; Rev. Mathew E. Neil, president; William H. Mason, financial secretary; William A. Fisher, treasurer; James E. King, outgoing president; (back row) Mrs. Alberta Douglass, Jersey Smith, Mrs. Thelma Whiteside, Lawrence McCall, Mrs. Nadine Carpenter, Rembert Dargan, Bessie Duncan, R. T. Lockett, Mrs. Eliza Watson, James Scott, Mrs. Bettye Douglass, and Mrs. Dorothy Manigault.*

Book Reviews

UNFINISHED REFORM

***The Social Politics of F.E.P.C.: A Study in Reform Pressure Movements.* By Louis Coleridge Kesselman. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948. Pp. XVII+253, $3.50.**

Planners of any reform involving political action would do well to study carefully Dr. Kesselman's brilliant analysis of the behind-the-scenes workings of the movement for a permanent FEPC. In an admirable piece of vivisection (after all, the movement is not yet dead, despite the bludgeoning it has received at the hands of the past several sessions of Congress) he takes apart the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, its organizers and officers, minority organizations, the Negro press, the Church, the political environment, the opposition, organized labor, leftists, and virtually all conceivable elements bearing on the matter.

He has done exhaustive, painstaking research to uncover a mass of enlightening detail, and he spares no one in revealing what he has discovered, from A. Philip Randolph, Anna Arnold Hedgeman, and Will Maslow down to little-known local workers, although he gives all their just due. He succeeds in convincing the reader that he is objective and reasonable in his appraisals. While he understands clearly the magnitude of the problems before any group working toward an objective so controversial, he nevertheless points out areas in which resources were not used wisely because of inexperience, ignorance, personality antagonisms, and the like.

The Social Politics of F.E.P.C. is not perfect in form. It would certainly be improved by the judicious use of commas between clauses, for example, an application of punctuation to which the author seems semi-allergic. There are one or two places where he apparently deleted material and neglected to make a transition, so that clarity suffers; thus, in giving the history of the wartime FEPC, he gives reasons for transferring it without first indicating that it was transferred (p. 19).

But these are minor defects, and they certainly do not diminish the fact that nowhere, so far as this reviewer has been able to ascertain, is there collected in one volume so much useful information about FEPC and sane approaches to minority political aims in an era when lobbying in Congress is a highly specialized and expensive proposition.

MABEL M. SMYTHE

MINORITY PROBLEMS

***AMERICA DIVIDED: Minority Group Relations in the United States.* By Arnold and Caroline Rose. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948. XI+342+IXpp. $4.00.**

Among current books on American minority problems I should recommend as the most valuable *America Divided.* It is informed and balanced, and in it our authors have brought

together a synthesis of all that is known about minority group relations in this country.

The most urgent question in the United States today is this problem of minority group relations. Of the total American population of some 140 millions, more than 43 millions, or roughly 33 percent, belong to minority groups. Ponder this. And the largest minority, contrary to popular belief, is made up of whites—the Roman Catholics. Negroes and Jews come next, with the Japanese, Chinese, and various other Oriental groups trailing behind. All are denied full participation in American life and they experience at one time or another all the troubles of oppressed groups—job, pay, school, and residential discrimination and occasionally, if they are Negroes or Orientals, mob violence. The broad general attitude of partial rejection applies to them all, although each group is hated or disliked for quite disparate reasons.

Our authors offer an objective analysis of these problems by showing why restraints and restrictions are forced upon certain groups, why it is so necessary that they be removed, and what can be done to relieve group tensions. "We are . . . discovering that the rest of the world is going to have something to say about the way in which we treat our minorities."

J. W. I.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE *of the New York university chapter of the NAACP. Standing, L to R: Ruth Harris, coresponding secretary; Mrs. Ruby Hurley, NAACP youth secretary; Clarence Hunter, president; Ruth Baker, vice-president; Judy Simon, recording secretary. Kneeling, L to R, Fred Stern, program chairman; Ben Bass, membership chairman; and Edward Graham, publicity chairman.*

IN BRIEF

***For Doctors Only.* By Doctor Francis Leo Golden. With a foreword by William E. Mountford, M.D., and illustrations by Barye Phillips. New York: Frederick Fell, Inc., 1948. 273pp. $2.95.**

For many generations of youngsters "for doctors only" meant the indelicate impetuosity of peeking at the genito-urinary plates in "doctors' books." But the title of this kit of jests covers material as aseptic as radio soap opera, its supposed medical humor turning out to be for the most part just good old anecdota americana. The comical strain in Dr. Golden's facetiae comes in, as in most American humor, by way of wisecracks, gags, and puns, with an occasional witticism, which is rare.

From the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, through the pedantic *médecins* and *charlatans* of Moliere, down to the early twentieth century most "doctors' jokes" were likely to be either castigatory or recriminatory, and aimed at what the populace regarded as the quackery and ignorance of the M. D. In this book where the material mirrors contemporary life the jokes are not so much about the physician as they are about human foibles and credulities. It merely happens that the participants are sometimes doctors and their patients.

We recommend *For Doctors Only* as a good prescription for the tertian ague and herewith select a few of its ingredients for sake of examples:

‡ When Dr. Bill Collier once queried a slick chick with, "Have you ever jumped up in bed with a jerk?" the sweet young think looked horrified. "Why, doctor," she said, "I'm not even married."

‡ When a youthful army doctor at a lone outpost in the South Pacific, after diagnosing the illness of a staff sergeant, wired the nearest base hospital: "Have a case of beriberi. What shall I do?" A prankster at the hospital radioed back: "Give it to the Marines. They'll drink anything."

‡ In the course of testing the IQ of a prospective airline hostess, the interrogator asked: "Who made you?" She hesitated but a moment with her reply, "Originally, or lately?"

‡ Overheard in a courtroom during a murder trial. The witness for the prosecution is being questioned by the judge:

"You say you saw the man shot at and killed?"

"Yes, sir."

"You said that the defendant struck the deceased on his body, between the diaphragm and the duodenum?"

"No, sir, I didn't say no such thing. I said he was shot between the hog pen and the woodhouse."

***Segregation in Washington: A Report of the National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital.* Text by Kenesaw M. Landis, with graphics by Tom P. Barrett. Chicago, 1948. 91pp. 85¢ postpaid.**

We are spending billions in our efforts to propagandize the world into believing in our particular brand of democracy, but not all our tooting can explain away our racial bigotry. The destruction of Nazi Germany leaves us the world's foremost racist nation. And Washington, our capital, is the only world capital in which citizens are jim-crowed, segregated, and herded into ghettos. It is probably the most segregative city in the country, worse in many respects than Atlanta, Ga., or Richmond, Va. These discriminatory policies did not exist until after the Civil War. They got their start under the Wilson Administration, growing worse after 1914. What this condensed summary of the research findings of the National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital does is to bring home in simple prose and picture the full extent and meaning of this racism in the Nation's Capital. Benjamin Banneker, who helped to lay out the capital, could not, were he to return to Washington today, eat where he pleased, get a room in a hotel, attend a downtown show, enroll in George Washington university, or buy a home outside the black belt. Recommended reading for every American, and this goes also for those Negroes who think they have the low-down on Washington segregation.

***Inequality of Opportunity in Higher Education: A Study of Minority Group and Related Barriers to College Admission.* By David S. Berkowitz, with supplementary studies by E. Franklin Frazier and Robert D. Leigh. (Legislative Document, 1948, No. 33). Albany: Williams Press, Inc., 1948. 203pp. 35¢.**

This study, which is the report to the temporary commission on the need for a state university in New York, examines the extent of discrimination against minorities in higher and professional education. Barriers to higher education in New York are many but few of them are directly traceable either to race or religion. Basically they derive from the complexity of the ad-

mission process, which in turn meshes with the complexities of economics, social status, and so on. Limited facilities, coupled with an increasing demand for college and professional education, have forced most institutions to adopt highly selective admission procedures; and despite the battery of objective, or relatively objective, admission criteria subjective considerations still play an important role.

The extent of discrimination against Jews, both in New York City and upstate institution, the report says, varies and is perhaps exaggerated. In New York City, fifty per cent of all students enrolled in institutions are Jewish by religious affiliation. On the other hand, it is hard to determine the extent of discrimination against Negroes because they do not apply for admission, especially to the non-sectarian institutions in upstate New York, in any appreciable numbers. About one-half of the Negroes attending college are enrolled in institutions outside New York state.

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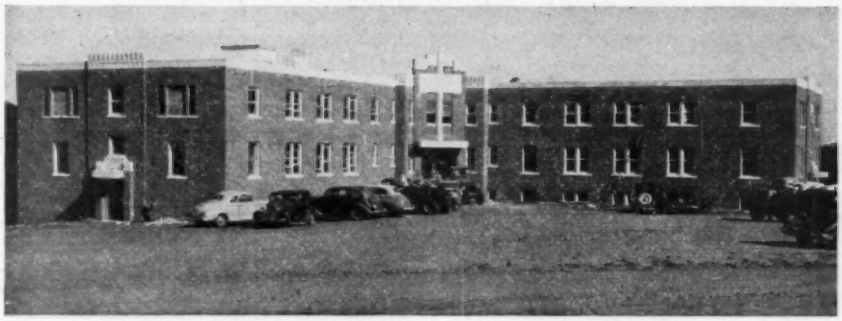

Meyers

EDWARDS MEMORIAL HOSPITAL, OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla.

FRANCES EDWARDS

ON April 18, 1948, in Oklahoma City, the Edwards Memorial Hospital for Negroes was dedicated, a 105-bed, three-story, modern institution, built at a cost of $431,000. At the dedication services, Walter J. Edwards proudly introduced his wife, Frances, who, in turn made the formal dedication.

"Teacher, tender comrade, wife,
A fellow-farer true through life,
Heart-whole and soul free
The August Father gave to me."

These immortal words of Robert Browning inscribed upon his first wife's tombstone, most adequately express the joy and appreciation in Walter's heart for his living wife.

As a teacher, she helped him with his formal education; as a comrade, she proudly marched by his side, wholeheartedly putting her shoulder to the wheel.

A modest dignified serenity, business acumen, and homemaking proclivities have made her an outstanding citizen in her community.

Her versatility is best demonstrated through such widely diversified activities as assisting in the operation of the W. J. Edwards Junk Yard, which grossed more than $250,000 in one year; development of real estate sub-divisions for her own people; design and construction of the Edwards home, and the establishment of a training program under the GI bill of rights for young men who want to learn the building trades.

When a personal illness, necessitating a serious operation, forcibly emphasized the inadequate local hospital facilities for Negroes, she met the challenge.

The Edwards Memorial Hospital is a monument to the unfailing, steadfast loyalty, the perserverance and vision of this wife and mother.

JULIA CLARKE

ON TO CALIFORNIA! 40th Annual Conference of the NAACP will meet in Los Angeles, California, July 12-17, 1949.

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We are closing out our entire stock of African Art—Figurines (some slightly damaged), Knives, Forks, and Spoons.

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MRS. FRANCES J. EVANS, *wife of Walter J. Evans and co-founder of the Edwards Memorial Hospital, Oklahoma City, Okla.*

MEDICAL OFFICERS RECEIVE REGULAR ARMY COMMISSIONS

Three Negro doctors at Provident Hospital in Chicago, Illinois, were recently appointed first lieutenants in the Regular Army Medical Corps. The newly-commissioned officers are: Clifton W. Arrington, Fred C. Williams and John M. Palmer.

Lieutenant Arrington will be assigned to an Army hospital immediately and Lieutenants Williams and Palmer will remain at Provident Hospital under the provisions of Department of the Army Circular 392 which permits the training of medical officers in civilian institutions. Lieutenant Williams will perform residency in otalaryngology and opthamology and Lieutenant Palmer will perform residency in surgery. Upon the completion of three years' residency they will be assigned to Army General hospitals.

Lieutenant Palmer was graduated from the Howard university school of medicine and Lieutenants Arrington and Williams attended Meharry medical school in Nashville, Tennessee.

The appointment of these officers raises to four the number of Negro officers in the Regular Army Medical Corps. Major Vance H. Marchbanks was appointed in the Regular Army last year and is now on duty at Lockbourne Air Force Base, Columbus, Ohio.

RECEIVES STAFF ASSIGNMENT IN FAR EAST

EIGHTH ARMY IN GIFU, Japan.—For the first time in the 79-year history of the 24th Infantry Regiment, a Negro officer has been appointed to the regimental unit staff. Captain Langston H. Caldwell, 2017 Franklin Street, Denver, Colorado, was recently assigned duties as regimental intelligence officer.

Captain Caldwell is a graduate of Tuskegee Institute and entered the service in February, 1942.

Customer Reaction

(Continued from page 80)

After a few days, however, this girl asked to be reinstated, saying that she had resigned because of her southern background but had later realized she was wrong. This store had received no unfavorable comments from customers but, on the other hand, many customers had praised the management for being fair to Negroes.

The experience of other Connecticut stores has been that many customers comment favorably on the employment of Negroes as sales personnel; while few, if any, raise any objections.

Segregated Schools

(Continued from page 79)

schools will be ended as it was in New Jersey.

The fight being waged by the East St. Louis branch is giving hope to hundreds of other communities in the North where segregation as a policy obtains despite the law. One hopeful sign is the growing number of white citizens, not only in East St. Louis, but in many other cities, who are giving active aid to NAACP branches in their attacks on this vicious system.

Mixed Colleges

(Continued from page 76)

teresting discussion as to whether it was better for a Negro girl to go to a Negro or predominantly white college. Stradella, who had never lived in the South, felt that all Negro colleges would soon be a thing of the past, that all but a few were below grade scholastically as are many white colleges in the South. She spoke of seeing no sense in going, as she put it, "from one high school to another." Olive, on the other hand, who had attended a segregated high school in Washington before going to an interracial boarding school in Massachusetts, felt that for a thorough understanding of her race's problems, a girl should go for a while to a segregated institution. She also spoke of friendship being an important part of college life and thought that friendship between Negroes was more lasting than between Negro and white students. Stradella felt that many of the friendships she had made with white girls would endure and said that in the case of her sister, who had been graduated from Vassar a few years before, such was proving to be the case. Stradella, who had studied anthropology and sociology, called attention to the fact that a Negro is not always perfectly integrated socially even when in a Negro college, since, following the example of the dominant race, some Negroes of light color discriminate against the darker-hued. Every ethnic group has its own way of discriminating, she said, and in the United States the in-group which is white, Protestant, and rich makes outlanders of others.

Turning to the white girls, those interviewed at Vassar all agreed in complete acceptance of Negro students whether their parents agreed or not. One pretty white girl from Atlanta said, "Some of my friends at home just 'foam at the mouth' at the idea of my having Negro classmates. So silly! So old-fashioned!"

Another girl said that at Sarah Lawrence college there was said to be a concerted effort to make the students of the minority races, including one Negro veteran, socially accepted. She added, "We wouldn't do that at Vassar. Why make an issue of it? They are just like any other students. What is the use of making them or us race-conscious?"

An exception to the rule of welcoming Negro students at Vassar was the action of a freshman from the South who was invited to dinner by an upperclassman. When she found that another guest was a Negro she got up and left abruptly. The Negro student was undisturbed and the reaction of the other girls at the table was that the freshman had a lot to learn at college.

The mother of a white student once voiced to the faculty objection to her daughter rooming with a Negro. Soon afterwards this mother accepted an invitation to dinner at the Negro girl's home and later she said she changed her mind completely.

It is important to note that in agreeing on the desirability of going to a mixed college, each one of the Negro college graduates and students interviewed stressed the importance of supporting the all-Negro colleges of the deep South, even though feeling the ultimate goal should be interracial colleges everywhere. They realize that in many parts of the South, if no separate Negro colleges were maintained, there would be little chance at present for higher education for members of their race. At Vassar the United Negro College Fund is included in the College Community Chest.

Adjustment Strains

On the question of the strain involved when a girl or boy is one of a very few Negro students, the opinion of Dr. S. O. Johnson, a psychiatrist at the Tuskegee Veterans' Hospital, is of interest. Dr. Johnson is a graduate of Boston university, and of its medical school. He said that the strain is often no more than the boy or girl has encountered all his life, often less if the student comes from the deep South. Of course, the way the student adjusts himself to the strain varies with his personality, just as does the degree of adaptation of any students who go away from home into a new and frequently more complicated milieu than they have known.

For the Negro student, the greatest strain comes, Dr. Johnson said, from never knowing when the point of non-acceptance will occur. For instance, a Negro boy who had formed a friendship with a white girl at an interracial preparatory school dropped in at her suburban home the next summer, driving out from New York with his mother and cousin. The girl and her parents welcomed them cordially and insisted that they stay to luncheon. The following fall the boy entered Dartmouth and the girl Connecticut College for Women. When in a letter home she mentioned that she was going to Dartmouth to a football game with this friend, her father telephoned her saying that he and her mother were unwilling that she should do so. He wrote to the boy, putting his decision on the grounds that "some of their friends from their home town might see his daughter and her escort and misunderstand the situation."

To sum up, the psychic strain seems lessening through the increased acceptance of Negro students by white classmates, a portent of still more acceptance in the next generation when the die-hard attitude of present-day parents will be removed. To emotionally adjusted Negroes the strain today does not seem dangerously great. Like all pioneers they must expect to stand the chance of meeting "hostiles."

"All the pulses of the world,
All the joyous, all the sorrowing, these
are of us, they are with us:
We today's procession heading, we the
route for travel clearing,
Pioneers! O pioneers!"

Education UAW Style

(*Continued from page 73*)

not long before he was telling me of a town in Michigan where the underground railway had a terminus in the pre-Civil War period. He seemed to get increased satisfaction out of his pipe when he talked of how there was no segregation in the schools or churches and of how "white and colored people accept each other as a matter of course." It was clear that he wanted his own home town, his union, the nation, and the world to be the same way. In his spare time he writes poetry, but his esthetic inclinations did not stop his demanding and getting skilled colored workmen in the Bendix plant where he is employed. He made short shrift of trouble-makers who threatened to quit by telling them that the union would not back them up in their undemocratic behavior. Looking at the breadth of his shoulders and the line of his chin, most people would think twice before trying to punch him in the nose for his views and statements.

Members Hold NAACP Cards

Roy Wilkins spoke at a morning meeting, and, later at a luncheon in his honor. One could have shut his eyes and fancied that he was at a convention of the NAACP. His tart straight-from-the-shoulder language pleased these practical men and women. The coats of many delegates carried the union ribbon on their lapels and in their pockets were NAACP membership cards. Many greeted me with, "How is Brother Walter White?" Delegate William Jenkins of Racine, Wisconsin, dropped by my room to talk over a housing problem in his home community. When I asked him what the local branch of the NAACP was doing about the matter, he said, "I am treasurer of the NAACP."

It is good to know that these two organizations have so much in common. There is not a piece of social legislation scheduled to come before the 81st Congress which does not include a booby trap on the race question. Federal aid to education, housing, minimum wage legislation, and, of course, the Taft-Hartley repeal contain the ingredients of a potential explosive which can blow up the "harmony house" in which those who favor human progress are drawing up the blue print for a new world.

No honest member of the UAW can say that he lacks information. At the conference were books with twenty per cent off, motion pictures, and numerous other educational suggestions which are a part of the UAW's drive to make its members the best informed trade union people in the country. There was a convincing speaker who talked on cooperatives and offered examples of how everything, from coal to fertilizer, could be bought cheaper under a program of this kind. Many of those who listened could have told about their own experiences in getting cheaper and better food through "co-ops" sponsored by the union. If they had any doubts about hospital costs, President Reuther could give them some firsthand knowledge from his game fight for life when his arm was nearly torn off by a shotgun blast.

There was some important talk on what happened during the 1948 campaign. Ten thousand workers were ringing door bells for the union to get out the vote. They even organized a baby sitting brigade for the purpose of getting mothers to the polling places. There was careful, systematic planning to get out the stay-at-homes in the various congressional districts. One congressman frankly told the delegates that he believed that estimates of how many persons would vote, which had been furnished him by the union, appeared to be far too optimistic, but when the returns were in the estimates were proved sound. He said he won, although none of the supporters of his opponent stayed at home. The actual count showed that his opponent received the same votes from the same areas as in 1946. The winner went to Washington in 1948 because persons who stayed home in the previous election were gotten out.

Ickes Speaks

Under the direction of Miss Olga Madar, the recreation department of the Union showed delegates how to make halls and meetings more attractive to the membership. Her department, with the help of Bill Oliver, carried on a fight to have colored persons participate in the American Bowling Congress.

After sessions on old age insurance, medical care, and many other things, the conference closed fittingly with a speech by Harold L. Ickes. He told the delegates that oil off the shores of Louisiana and Texas is probably worth about $27,510,000,000.00. He proposed that the Federal Government use the income from this vast supply to set up a trust fund which, among other things, could furnish badly needed federal aid to the nation's educational system. Set beside Mr. Ickes' estimate of billions of dollars in wealth beneath the sea, the UAW treasury of about three million dollars looks very small. However, if we are able to create the kind of political climate which will accept Mr. Ickes' proposal, the UAW will be one of the important forces in bringing it about.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

ARKANSAS

W. Harold Flowers
Masonic Temple, Pine Bluff
Telephone: 919

J. R. Booker
Century Building, Little Rock
Telephone: 2-4248

CALIFORNIA

Geo. R. Vaughns
1027 Adeline St., Oakland 7
Telephone TWinoaks 9688

Mathews & Williams
Charles H. Matthews — David W. Williams
2510 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles 11
Telephone: ADams 1-9739—ADams 1-6712

James T. Phillips
33 W. Mountain St., Pasadena 3
Telephone: Sycamore 7-4124

John C. Henderson
1557 — 7th St., Oakland 7
Telephone: TWinoaks 5338

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Telephone: Walnut 3536

Thomas J. Henry
208 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta
Telephone: Lamar 4710

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Telephone: RANdolph 1094

Ellis & Westbrooks
3000 South State St., Chicago 16
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William Henry Huff
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Telephone: Terrace 2-1934

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Michigan at Monroe Ave., Grand Rapids 2
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Logan W. McWilson
189-191 Halsey St., Newark 2
Telephone: MArket 3-1779

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Telephone: ACademy 2-9260

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Telephone: EXpress 3712-3713

William H. Brooks
120 Hamilton Ave., Columbus 3

Harry E. Davis
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Telephone: MAin 1320

Chester K. Gillespie
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Telephone: Walnut 2-1042

Theodore Spaulding
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Office: F4895; Home: F0853

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Newport News
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Reuben E. Lawson
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Telephone: 9751

Willmer F. Dillard
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Roanoke 17
Telephone: 2-2608

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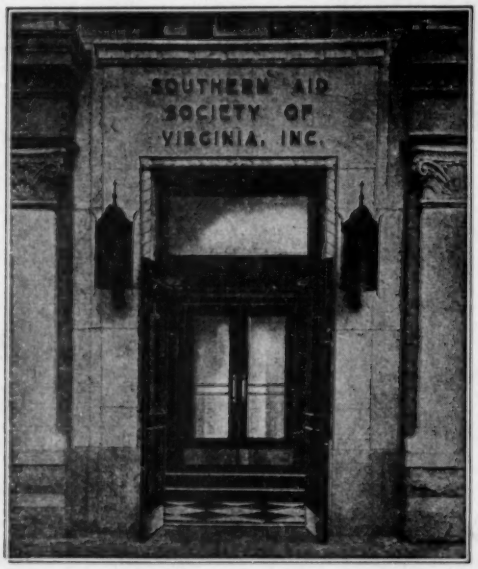

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